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ABSTRACT

This handbook is designed to help women become effective lobbyists. Although written for women in New Jersey, it can be used by women in other states as well. A lobbyist is defined as a person representing a group who conducts a campaign to influence members of the legislature to vote for the group's special interest. Several factors which contribute to the increasing need for effective legislative lobbying are discussed. Laws regulating lobbyists are examined. A great deal of practical information is included in the handbook. A major portion of the handbook is devoted to helping readers understand the legislative process. How a bill becomes a law is discussed. The path of one bill through the New Jersey legislature and a flow chart illustrate the process. The handbook also describes tactics and strategies that a lobbyist can use. These include agenda setting, direct lobbying, lobbying the committee, lobbying for a floor vote, grass roots lobbying, coalition building, and understanding and utilizing the media. Discussed is the lobbyist's role regarding the implementation and enforcement phase once a bill becomes a law. A bibliography of additional resources and a glossary of frequently used terms are also included. (RM)

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LOBBYING in New Jersey

A Handbook

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CENTER FOR THE AMERICAN WOMAN AND POLITICS (CAWP)
Eagleton Institute of Politics
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901

The Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) is a unique research, education, and service center working to increase knowledge about women's participation in public life. As part of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, CAWP programs reflect Eagleton's interest in political institutions, political practitioners, and public policy in the United States.

The Center believes in encouraging the full and effective involvement of women in American public affairs. National in scope, Center programs support the growth and strength of a truly representative government responsive to the needs of all citizens, female and male alike.

CAWP activities include developing educational programs, generating and sponsoring research, convening conferences and symposia, and publishing and disseminating information. By designing and sponsoring a variety of programs, the Center serves a catalytic role in the development of important information about women's participation in government and politics.

Established in 1971 with the aid of a Ford Foundation grant to the Eagleton Institute, the Center for the American Woman and Politics seeks additional funds to support its programs. Neither CAWP nor the Eagleton Institute of Politics is a lobbying organization. All programs undertaken by the Center and the Institute are nonpartisan, and all donations are tax exempt.

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Nancy Becker is president of Nancy H. Becker Associates, a New Jersey based public affairs consulting firm which she established in 1977. The firm represents various associations and interest groups at the state capitol in Trenton. As program consultant to the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Becker designed and coordinated the "Lobbying in New Jersey" workshops, sponsored by the Center for the American Woman and Politics and the New Jersey Division on Women. She currently serves on the New Jersey Civil Rights Commission, the Steering Committee of New Jersey Common Cause, and the Princeton Township Zoning Board. Prior to starting her own firm, Becker worked in several statewide political campaigns. From 1972 to 1976, she served as the first executive director of New Jersey Common Cause.

Getting What We Want

An Introductory Note

Lobbying means knowing how to identify objectives, understand issues and laws, determine priorities, assess one's own weaknesses and strengths as well as those of opponents, devise plans and timetables, develop strategies for action, negotiate compromise, and build organized support for attaining a desired goal. In effect, successful lobbying is tantamount to knowing how to get what one wants from the political process. In representing a point of view or a special interest, the lobbyist works to influence decision-makers to understand that point of view in the most straightforward, efficient manner available, while yielding as little as possible in the process.

Lobbying is a political skill. Understanding and applying its techniques and tactics are especially important for the women of today and tomorrow. Over the past decade our society has been confronted — sometimes to its chagrin — with new answers to the perennial question, "What do women want?" Thousands of U.S. women have moved beyond articulating their concerns and priorities to developing a consensus on those priorities. In November 1977 at the federally-sponsored National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas, diverse women from every state and territory met in a public forum to vote on a plan of action which addresses our issues of concern and reflects our consensus about changes in public policy on the rights, opportunities, and status of U.S. women. Having come together to speak with a clear voice about what it is that women want, women have assumed a major new responsibility in the public world — the responsibility for insuring that political and governmental institutions, as well as the private sector, move positively in acting on the national women's plan.

The Houston women's plan, as well as other agendas developed by women over the last decade, will advance only as quickly and as far as women across the country are willing and able to move them. The power of the push will depend on knowledge of political realities and on the ability to advocate skillfully for women's special interests. In other words, after consensus and after agenda-building, we must know how to lobby to get what we want.

Traditionally women have been told to wait to be wooed. Only rarely have women become advocates in public — either for themselves as individuals or for groups of women. Sporadically, women have taken or been given the responsibility of advocating on behalf of organized interests. Among the ranks of professional lobbyists — those who are registered and paid for their advocacy skills in the marketplace — women comprise an almost invisible minority.

Today there are growing numbers of women who woo instead of wait, who advocate for public issues, and who develop professional skills as paid or volunteer lobbyists. Their ranks are still very small, but they are likely to expand. More and more women are recognizing the value of learning skills which are essential tools in lobbying for public interests or professional concerns. Taking on the responsibility for convincing others to support and implement our agendas is both an opportunity and a challenge women are pursuing.

Relatively few of us will become professional lobbyists, but many of us will encounter situations in which we are advocating a cause or an issue in public. While the specific information for lobbying described in this handbook may not apply to some of the situations encountered by nonprofessional lobbyists, the tools and techniques used by expert lobbyists are similar and equally necessary for all types of advocacy. Building influence and applying pressure through the use of information and the techniques of advocacy are processes relevant to those who lobby the legislative and executive branches of government at federal, state, and local levels. But they are also processes required for building support in lobbying the world of nongovernmental organizations — business, organized labor, professional organizations, political parties, religious institutions, citizens groups, and civic associations. Getting what we want depends on our understanding of how, when, and where to advocate our interests.

The Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) supports the development of educational programs and materials which promote and assist women's full, effective participation in the public world. Over the past two years CAWP has begun to sponsor workshops in lobbying skills for women in New Jersey. They have been designed by Nancy Becker, author of this handbook, and coordinated by Ruth Ann Burns, Program Associate at CAWP. Becker, a skilled lobbyist, is the former executive director of New Jersey's Common Cause, and current president of Nancy H. Becker Associates, a lobbying firm in Trenton, New Jersey. Burns is a journalist and political scientist. She also serves as a member of the school board for Edison, New Jersey.

As an extension of the workshops and in the interest of developing useful educational tools, CAWP is issuing this handbook under a grant from the New Jersey Division on Women in the hopes that it will be a practical guide to the growing numbers of women who know what they want and are learning how to go about getting it.

Ruth B. Mandel
Director, CAWP

Lobbying Then and Now

How many of us realize what an important role lobbying plays in the political process? Lobbying — it is a term tarnished by images of payoffs, behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing, and sex for cash. Looking back through the writing of William E. Sackett in his first volume of *Modern Battles of Trenton,* a turn-of-the-century study of lobbyists in the New Jersey legislature, a colorful portrait of the 1873 legislative session in Trenton emerges.

He describes "an endless revelry" with "corks popping at the bars, sumptuous dinners at the big hotels, wine banquets lasting till the early hours of dawn, terrapin and steamed oysters on demand in every basement" — all provided by the railroad agents "for the men with votes worth having and palates worth tickling." One lobbyist is depicted as "dashing of manner, loquacious, loud-voiced, tall, straight, of full habit, and strutting, gaudy and showy in dress, with streaming neckwear of brilliant hues, and diamonds gleaming from breast and fingers." Bribery was common. One legislator, Sackett related, was approached by a lobbyist and told, " 'As your vote is to Senate 167, so is $500 to your answer.' " The brandishment on the Assembly floor of an envelope containing "five crisp $100 bank notes" documented the charge.[1]

In recent years lobbying has evolved into a highly sophisticated and refined art, far different from the old style that Sackett portrays so vividly. Within the complex and demanding 1970s, government must be able to depend on reliable expertise from a variety of sources in order to develop meaningful public policies on technical and complicated issues. Government staff members alone cannot provide all the answers and expertise. Lobbyists, representing their particular points of view have become a critical resource within the political process, providing substantive and political information on specific issues. A great deal has changed since the days when lobbyists clutching little black bags filled with cash descended on a state legislature "to do a little business."

Today's visitor to Trenton would have difficulty finding wine banquets, steamed oysters, fancy hotels, or diamond-studded lobbyists. But this does not suggest that lobbyists have vanished from the halls of the state capitol. On the contrary, during 1977 more than 300 individuals and organizations registered with the Attorney General as legislative agents in New Jersey, outnumbering legislators by a ratio of three to one. These lobbyists represent a great variety of organizations ranging from multinational corporations to small citizen groups, from labor unions to business and professional associations. In addition, various agencies of state, county, and municipal government send advocates to Trenton to present their points of view. Although these individuals do not call themselves lobbyists, in reality that is the role they play in the political process.

Modern lobbyists do not fit a stereotype. Like the lawmakers they try to influence, some lobbyists are hardworking and honest, while others believe a pat on the back does the job. Some are full-time, some are volunteers, and others lobby as part of another job. Most are male, but an increasing number are female. All lobbyists advocate the point of view of the interests they represent. All lobbyists should be experts in their particular area, and most are.

The increasing complexity of government at the state level, as well as significant changes in the way our political system operates, have made old style lobbyists and lobbying passé. At the same time, there are higher stakes for corporations, labor unions, public interest groups, and professional associations at the state level. As a consequence of the changing political environment, an increasingly effective political presence is mandated for all interest groups affected by the passage of state legislation.

In the past twenty-five years we have witnessed the rapid growth of administrative and regulatory agencies at all levels of government. Almost every state has its own Department of Environmental Protection; many states have consumer protection agencies at both the state and local levels; and state government is becoming increasingly concerned with problems previously labeled local concerns, such as zoning and land use regulation.

In addition to the proliferation of government into new areas of our lives, there have been fundamental changes in the political process that have altered the way lobbying is conducted.

- The influence of local political party leaders on an individual legislator's voting behavior has diminished substantially in recent years. In the past, a lobbyist could devote her or his energies to gaining support from the forty-two Republican and Democratic County Chairpersons. In turn the chairpersons could assure support from their respective legislators. Today county party chairpersons, although very powerful in the candidate selection process, rarely exert that kind of control over a legislator's vote.

- The distribution of power among legislative leaders has made both houses of the legislature, but particularly the assembly, more democratic, more responsive and at the same time more chaotic and less controllable. Rotating leadership, combined with the absence of issue specialization by individual legislators on standing reference committees, has helped to create an atmosphere of instability.

- Prior to 1973, the Senate Majority Caucus — a secret and basically nonaccountable body, sometimes called the "21" club — had enormous power. Consensus was reached within the caucus, and voting behavior on the floor of the senate reflected the decisions made behind closed doors. As a result, a lobbyist had only to convince a majority of the caucus members to support her or his position to know that victory was assured. The senate majority caucus is now called a "conference," and although it still meets in secret, it does not have the clout of the old caucus.

- The one-man-one-vote decision handed down by the Supreme Court was extended to both houses of state legislatures in *Reynolds* v. *Sims* (1964). In New Jersey this meant that for thirteen years apportionment occurred before every election until 1975, and no legislator was elected to the same district twice until two years ago. One-man-one-vote also meant that legislators representing rural districts, who previously wielded disproportionate power to the numbers they represented, watched their influence dissipate when representation based on population was instituted. As a result of this increased turnover in legislative seats, lobbyists had a more difficult time finding out who was in power, and they came to realize that old ties were less important. In the last four years, however, legislative turnover has decreased substantially, restoring stability to the legislature, and increasing the value of an experienced lobbyist.

- Increased federal revenues continue to be channeled to state and local governments where competition for these funds increases the value of a lobbyist's talent.

- Finally, lobbying tactics have had to change because in the past five years the entire legislative process has been "opened up" or democratized. Procedural changes in the way legislatures operate mean that:

Most committee meetings are now open to the public.

Roll call votes are now taken in committee as well as on the floor of both houses.

The number of public hearings has increased.

Advance notice of most meetings is mandated in the legislative rules of both houses.

These conditions help to foster competition among various interest groups and cloud the certainty of the outcome of legislative action.

Luncheons, cocktail parties, football tickets, and other favors are still well-received, but they no longer guarantee a bill's outcome. A well-planned and coordinated lobbying effort, with good research and an effective grass roots campaign, will insure better results in most cases.

What is Lobbying?

The right to lobby emanates from our Constitution, which provides every citizen the right to petition her or his government.

Lobbying has become integrated into the legislative process at every level of government. In its constructive role, lobbying provides information necessary for the enactment of sensible laws. It is also a necessary outlet for expressing the goals of special interest groups. "If these important segments of the national life — businessmen [sic], workers, farmers, doctors, veterans, and the rest — were denied access to government, or consistently frustrated in their legislative goals, there would be a strong tendency for them to form political parties or groupings of their own and the consequences would be political fragmentation of the kind that has beset some European nations."[2]

A "lobbyist" is commonly defined as a person representing a group "who conducts a campaign to influence members of the legislature to vote for the group's special interest." According to the New Jersey Legislative Activities Act of 1971, lobbying is any activity that seeks to promote the passage or defeat of legislation.

Although definitions and descriptions of lobbying often exclude actions which attempt to influence executive branch decisions, pressure on this branch of government is often as important as pressure on the legislature. Lobbying various agencies and departments of the executive branch requires different types of skills, but pressure applied to this part of government can be just as intense and is just as important.

Primarily, the lobbyist is a gatherer and a conveyer of information. The experienced lobbyist — a person with sensitive antennae tuned to the political process — is constantly aware of any governmental or nongovernmental activities that may affect a client in either a positive or negative way. Legislation that might pose a potential threat must be killed as early as possible, preferably before it is scheduled for committee consideration. Beneficial legislation must be steered effectively through the political process as quickly as possible. Solid, truthful, and comprehensive research is a definite asset for the person whose role is to provide information. All information must be simple and to the point. (Legislators are bombarded by reams of material, most of which is ignored because of length.)

Interest groups often make campaign contributions to legislators and other elected public officials. Increasingly, these groups are convinced that a necessary component of lobbying is providing campaign funds for candidates. Notwithstanding the enactment of comprehensive public financing laws, private money nourishes politics. Campaign contributions rarely "buy" votes, but they do create increased access for lobbyists. During the 1973 New Jersey legislative elections, special interest groups donated close to $300,000 or 13% of the total campaign contributions raised by all legislative candidates. In 1975, when only the assembly was up for election, that percentage of special interest money increased significantly. (These figures are understated because they do not include contributions to political parties. Political parties often receive contributions from the same interest groups that give to individual candidates.)

Certain interest groups also attempt to influence large blocs of votes during an election. By analyzing and publicizing the way an individual legislator votes on various pieces of legislation, special interest groups make known to their members which candidates are sympathetic to their positions. In addition, during an election campaign many lobbying groups seek commitments from candidates on issues that are important to their particular interests. These responses are usually publicized to the group's membership and to the public at large. In some cases campaign contributions are targeted to legislative candidates on the basis of their questionnaire responses and past voting records.

Broadly speaking, lobbying includes every effort to influence public policy at all levels of government — from the individual who petitions the township committee to prevent her street from being widened, to the major oil companies which employ sophisticated lobbying and public relations campaigns to defeat President Carter's energy plan. There is no comparison between the amount of money and human resources expended on behalf of these causes. The local effort simply requires an individual who is willing to petition her local government and articulate her point of view. Little or no money is needed — only time, patience, and persistence. Contrasted to this type of lobbying is the current massive lobbying campaign that the major oil companies have undertaken. This expensive advocacy effort — designed to insure that any energy proposal enacted by the Congress does no major harm to the oil industry — utilizes sophisticated computers, direct mail techniques, and newspaper and television advertising. It has attempted to use grass roots lobbying techniques to convince oil company stockholders to write to their congressional representatives in support of the oil industry's position. This type of lobbying campaign also requires patience and persistence, but additionally, it demands a highly sophisticated organizational capacity with enormous amounts of money and human power.

Legislators Need Lobbyists

Several factors contribute to the increasing need for effective legislative lobbying. The escalating involvement of government into new areas of our lives, combined with rising expectations of what government can do, has produced a legislative explosion at both the national and state levels. Increasing numbers of bills are introduced during each session of Congress and the New Jersey Legislature. In Congress, approximately 23,000 bills are introduced during each session, but only 400 become law. In the New Jersey Legislature over 7,000 bills were introduced in 1976 to 1977, but only 443 became law. The great majority of bills are ignored or forgotten because no one calls attention to them once they have been introduced. Those bills which do become law usually have received a good deal of attention from the governor, the Democratic or Republican party, the press, or a variety of interest groups with effective lobbying power. With the exception of the media, all of these identifiable interests employ lobbying techniques to call attention to their objectives and to ensure that (1) the legislation they support is enacted into law; and (2) the executive branch decisions that are promulgated will be beneficial to their interests.

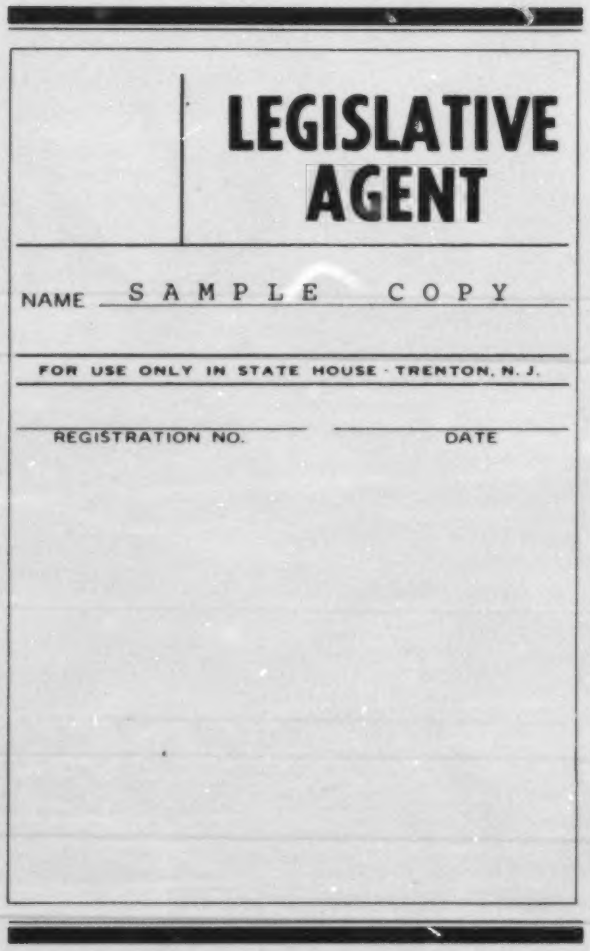
Because of the sheer number of legislative proposals introduced in each session, there is no way that a particular elected official can become familiar with even a small percentage of the material under consideration. Competent and professional nonpartisan legislative staff combined with strengthened partisan staffs in both the assembly and senate have, in recent years, been able to provide legislators with greatly improved research services. But the role of legislative staff is to collect and sift information, in addition to providing analyses of bills and other policy matters. Nonpartisan staff is not supposed to advocate a particular position or point of view. Therefore, legislative staff, no matter how competent, cannot substitute for a lobbyist's point of view. Lobbyists communicate concern about particular issues in addition to providing the necessary expertise for careful decision making. Consequently, advocates can be critical legislative resources.

Another factor contributing to the need for effective advocacy is that the New Jersey Legislature is a part-time organization. Most of its members hold other jobs to support themselves and their families and, therefore, must divide their time between at least two positions. Not surprising, many of the members earn considerably more in their private careers and, consequently, must devote only partial attention to public business.

In 1977 the salary for a New Jersey legislator was $10,000 a year. (Beginning in 1974 each legislator also received $15,000 a year for staff in addition to $5,000 which was earmarked for setting up and maintaining a district office.) At the end of the 1977 New Jersey legislative session a bill raising legislative compensation to $18,000 per year, to take effect in 1980, was enacted. At the same time an increase in the staff allowance to $20,000 for each legislator was also signed into law.

For busy legislators, lobbyists serve as a source of organized, succinct, available information on public issues.

Laws Regulating Lobbyists


LEGISLATIVE AGENT

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FOR USE ONLY IN STATE HOUSE - TRENTON, N. J.

REGISTRATION NO. DATE

In part, as a result of continuing patterns of abuse at both the federal and state levels, lobby disclosure laws at the state level have become more stringent. The current federal lobbyist registration law which has been in effect for thirty years is ineffective and ridden with loopholes, yet any efforts to reform it have been delayed successfully or defeated by the most powerful lobbyists in Washington.

During the past five years, laws regulating lobbying in the states have changed significantly. Since 1972 at least thirty-two states have adopted more stringent lobbyist disclosure legislation. Forty-three states now require registration and reporting of expenditures. And most state lobbyists are periodically required to disclose their clients, the issues they advocate, and the amount of money they receive and spend.

In New Jersey, the lobbyist disclosure law which was enacted in 1971 requires that: lobbyists register with the attorney general; file quarterly reports disclosing the names of clients; cite the legislation being advocated or opposed with the position taken on each bill; and list the names of legislators and other public officials who have been contacted during that period. A quarterly filing fee of $5 is required, and all lobbyists must wear an identification badge while they are in the State House.

Although New Jersey does not require lobbyists to disclose how much money is expended on lobbying, the state does require the disclosure of all campaign contributions over $100. In effect, this means that most campaign contributions donated by lobbyists are disclosed under the New Jersey Campaign Contributions and Reporting Act of 1973.

It is interesting to note that comprehensive lobbyist disclosure was originally required under the Campaign Contributions and Reporting Act. However, the Chamber of Commerce filed suit against the Election Law Enforcement Commission which enforces and administers this law, claiming that the lobbyist disclosure provisions were overbroad and produced "a chilling effect on the political process." The Chamber won the case in Superior Court, but in his decision, Judge Irwin Kimmelman stated that "The Act's defect lies not in its goal but in the overbreadth employed to achieve it." His decision hinted at the acceptability of a financial threshold for lobbyist reporting requirements if that threshold would eliminate from reporting

requirements ad hoc lobbying groups which do not spend over $100.

This decision was appealed by the Election Law Enforcement Commission and Common Cause. On December 20, 1977, Judge Kimmelman's decision was reversed by a three-judge panel which stated that the court should have practiced judicial surgery to preserve the intent of the statute which was "to regulate the significant flow of substantial wealth aimed at affecting the legislative process." The decision further notes the legislative passage in 1977 of A-3140 which was drafted as an amendment to the 1973 Campaign Disclosure Act, and required lobbyists to disclose their contributions and expenditures, if their annual expenditures exceed $750. However, the governor allowed this bill to die through the use of a "pocket veto." Finally, in February 1978, the Chamber of Commerce decided to continue its appeal to a higher court, which in effect prevents lobby disclosure requirements from taking effect until the higher court decides the case.

During the past two years several other lobbyist regulation laws have been enacted in New Jersey. They include: penalties for lobbyists' employers if their legislative agents fail to comply with provisions of the Legislative Activities Disclosure Act; disclosure by lobbyists to their employers of potential conflicts of interest; prohibitions against lobbyists seeking the introduction of legislation in order to work for its defeat.

Understanding the Legislative Process

For a bill to become law it must follow a rather formal route to enactment. Although the route a bill takes can be speeded up, slowed down,or blocked completely by various tactics employed by the governor, partisan, or special interest groups, the path itself remains the same in every case.

Following is a description of the key elements in the legislative process. Understanding this process is absolutely essential for any lobbyist who wishes to make the system work for her rather than against her.

The Legislative Calendar

The New Jersey Legislature convenes the second Tuesday in January every year. This is the only fixed date on its calendar. After the opening exercises, regular sessions are held through February, usually on Mondays and Thursdays, but not necessarily every Monday and Thursday.

Toward the end of February, after the governor presents his budget, the legislature recesses for at least a month to enable the Joint Appropriations Committee to review the budget. Legislative consideration of the budget occupies a great deal of time during this portion of the session, which commences during March and runs through May or June, depending on whether or not primary elections for state office are held.

Until recently, the legislature recessed for the summer at the end of June. However, during the past two or three years this has not been the case, and sessions have continued through the summer months.

Following the summer recess, the legislature generally reconvenes in November and meets until January, although it is not uncommon for the legislature to return at the end of September for several meetings. Adjournment for the year occurs on the second Tuesday in January, one hour before the legislature is convened for the new year.

Until the last three years the legislature has met an average of thirty-three days per year. However, during the last two sessions the number of meetings has increased substantially, which may indicate that the increased burdens of state government have altered the old patterns forever.

Organization

Each house elects its own officers by majority vote at the beginning of the first annual session. The presiding officer in New Jersey's General Assembly is the speaker; in the senate, the president. A speaker pro tem and president pro tem are also elected. They take over in the absence of the presiding officer.

Majority and minority leaders, assistant leaders, and party whips are elected in each house. Whips are responsible for counting votes and rounding up party members for crucial votes.

Rules adopted by each house specify the number of committees, the number of members and the party representation of all committees. The presiding officer appoints chairpeople and members of committees. This is done in consultation with party leadership and the wishes of individual legislators. It is traditional that leadership posts and committee chairs are distributed among representatives of the various counties which turn out the highest number of votes for the majority party.[3]

There are two kinds of legislative committees: standing reference committees to which proposed legislation is referred for study, and administrative or housekeeping committees.

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The *reference committees* include:

ASSEMBLY
Agriculture & Environment
Appropriations*
Banking & Insurance
Commerce, Industry, & Professions
County Government
Education
Energy & Natural Resources
Institutions, Health & Welfare
Judiciary, Law, Public Safety & Defense
Labor
Municipal Government
State Government & Federal & Interstate Relations & Veterans Affairs
Taxation
Transportation & Communications

SENATE
Agriculture
County & Municipal Government
Education
Energy & Environment
Institutions, Health & Welfare
Judiciary
Labor, Industry & Professions
Law, Public Safety & Defense
Revenue, Finance & Appropriations*
State Government & Federal & Interstate Relations & Veterans Affairs
Transportation & Communications

*Meet as the Joint Appropriations Committee to consider and hold public hearings on the state budget.

Administrative committees have the same designation in each house. They include: Intergovernmental Relations, Rules and Order, and Ways and Means. Joint administrative committees are: Ethical Standards and State Library. In January 1977, the assembly created a standing lower house special committee called Legislative Oversight.

The bipartisan Law Revision and Legislative Services Commission, responsible for the nonpartisan professional staff of the legislature, consists of sixteen legislators, four from each party from both houses. Once appointed to this commission, members serve for their entire elected term. The commission supervises the operation of the *Legislative Services Agency* with its three divisions: *Law Revision, Bill Drafting and Legal Services, Legislative Information and Research*. Directed by a revisor of statutes, the *Division on Law Revision* engages in long-range topical revisions of existing laws in addition to reviewing judicial opinions calling for new legislation. The *Division of Bill Drafting and Legal Services* provides a bill drafting service for all legislators. It also reviews all bills prior to introduction with regard to form, constitutional requirements, and the rules of both houses. This division also has extensive files on past legislation. The *Division of Legislative Information and Research* has four main functions: provides nonpartisan staff for the senate and assembly Standing Reference Committees, with the exception of the fiscal committees, which are staffed by the Office of Fiscal Affairs; provides information and research services to all legislators, legislative leadership, various commissions and legislative committees; provides staff, for various study and investigatory commissions; provides general information on pending legislation and the legislative process to the public.

The Law Revision and Legislative Services Commission also supervises the *Office of Fiscal Affairs* with its three divisions: *State Auditing, Program Analysis,* and *Budget Review*. The *Office of Fiscal Affairs* was created by law in 1971 to provide the legislature with a centralized source for fiscal analysis. The *Division of State Auditing* performs comprehensive fiscal post audits of all state departments, agencies, and offices. The *Division of Program Analysis* determines if state agencies are executing acts of the legislature in an efficient and effective manner consistent with the legislative intent. The *Division of Budget Review*

provides staff services to the Senate Revenue, Finance and Appropriations Committee, the Assembly Taxation Committee, the Assembly Appropriations Committee, and the Joint Appropriations Committee. It also assists the legislature in its analyses of the governor's budget message. It analyzes pending legislation, which has been referred to the Senate Revenue, Finance and Appropriations Committee for fiscal implications.[4]

Reorganization of the Legislative Services Agency has been under consideration for the past year. Although it seems unlikely that any restructuring of this agency will take place immediately, the issue will more than likely be reconsidered during the new legislative session.

In addition to the nonpartisan legislative staff provided by Legislative Services, each house also hires partisan staff which serves the respective parties of each house. In the assembly there is an executive director, a deputy director, and various other staff members who serve the Democratic majority. Serving the Republican minority assembly members are an executive director and staff. In the senate the Democratic majority are served by executive and deputy directors plus staff, while the Republican minority also has an executive director and staff. Other legislative staff (sometimes referred to as patronage staff) includes the assembly clerk, the senate clerk, the senate secretary, assistants to the presiding officers, parliamentarians, bill clerks, journal clerks, secretaries, and sergeants-at-arms.

Sponsorship

Once an issue is determined, the first critical decision a lobbyist makes is who will be the prime sponsor of her bill. (Except in those cases where a lobbyist is supporting a bill which has already been introduced.) Close attention must be paid to which party is in power and who would be the most effective spokesperson for an issue. One good method of finding an effective sponsor is to ask a legislator who has previously sponsored similar legislation and maneuvered it successfully through the legislature. Another approach would be to ask a legislator whose district would benefit from enactment of the legislation. A third approach would be to find a legislator serving on the committee which will consider the bill. Careful strategy consideration must also be given to which house a bill should be introduced. Favorable consideration by one house can help build momentum for speedy passage in the second house. If a bill meets opposition in the first house, it will more than likely encounter controversy and delay in the second house. Therefore it is very important to try to move a bill where you can win first.

Sponsoring a bill takes little effort on the part of a legislator. A bill can be drafted by the bill drafting service that is available to all legislators through Legislative Services, or it can be drafted by a lobbyist or an attorney to reflect the goals of a particular interest group.

Once a sponsor is secured, the next step is to line up an impressive list of cosponsors. Numbers of cosponsors are important, but equally impressive is the number of influential people who have agreed to become cosponsors. The speaker or senate president and the majority and minority leaders carry a great deal of weight with their respective party membership. In addition to these people, members of the committee which will consider the bill are also important potential cosponsors.

Once sponsors are secured, a lobbyist must do everything possible to help them get the bill enacted. Because legislators are often too busy to become experts on, and advocates for every issue, lobbyists can provide a valuable service and are often depended upon to supply not only the initial legislation but also position papers, memoranda, testimony, and support.

An advocate's first responsibility (even in order to obtain a sponsor) is to know her issue backwards and forwards. She should arm herself with as much factual material as possible in support of her position — including official documents, statistics, and other hard facts. When lobbyists research their subjects thoroughly and are able to refute the arguments against their positions knowledgeably, legislators and their staffs will trust the information and respect the individual providing it.

Committee Consideration

Once a bill has been introduced into the legislature (either in the assembly, the senate, or both houses at the same time), the next critical step in the lobbying process is to steer the bill to the most favorable legislative committee for consideration. Although some bills are never assigned to committee (which is called "no reference"), the great majority are assigned to a standing reference committee. Currently there are twenty-five of these committees — fourteen in the assembly and eleven in the senate (see page 11). Standing Reference Committees are organized to have jurisdiction over specific issue areas. For example, the Education Committees deal with matters affecting all areas of education in New Jersey. In some cases, however, the distinctions between areas are not clear cut, and a lobbyist may be able to influence the assignment of a bill to the most favorable committee.

The assembly speaker and the senate president have the responsibility for assigning bills to committee. To influence the placement of a bill, a lobbyist must be able to develop a strong argument for a bill's assignment to one committee or another. At this point in the legislative process, the lobbyist must work very closely with the sponsor of the legislation. In most cases, the sponsor of a bill, particularly if she or he is influential, can request that the bill be assigned to a specific committee.

During the 1976 to 1977 session each standing reference committee, with the exception of the Senate Judiciary Committee, had five members — three Democrats, two Republicans. However, partisan representation on the committees fluctuates according to the number of Democrats and Republicans in each house. Consequently, as a result of overwhelming Democratic majorities in both houses, Assembly Standing Reference Committees for 1978 to 1979 increased in size and now have five Democrats and two Republicans on each. On the senate side, however, the committees will maintain their membership at five, with the same partisan composition as 1976 to 1977. The Senate Judiciary Committee, which has the important function of screening all gubernatorial appointments, has eleven members — six Democrats and five Republicans.

Once a bill has been assigned to a particular committee, it is critical to have that legislation scheduled for committee consideration. The prime sponsor of the bill must request that the chairperson of the committee place the bill on the agenda. In this way the committee chairperson learns which bills are serious and which ones are frivolous. Unfortunately, many bills are introduced into the legislature for various political reasons, but with no intent on the part of the sponsor or legislature to enact the bill.

Once a bill is placed on the agenda, the committee deliberates it in open session. In most cases, the sponsor is present to explain the bill and present an argument for its release from committee. After the sponsor has presented her or his case, anyone attending the meeting is usually allowed to speak on the bill. At this time lobbyists representing various viewpoints and various constituencies are permitted to speak for or against a bill. Very often, as a result of a lobbyist's argument, the bill will be amended to satisfy a particular interest group.

At this point in the process, a lobbyist must understand her bill, realizing the full implications of any amendments, particularly when an amendment will destroy the intent of the legislation. Often the best a lobbyist can do for a particular client is to make sure that the least objectionable amendment is the one adopted.

Once a bill has been considered in committee and it has been amended or remains the same, it can be released, held over for further consideration, tabled, or not released. Most legislation is either voted out of committee or held over. More often than not, a bill that is held over lies in limbo, and depending upon how much time is left in the session, is dead for all practical purposes. To be released for a full house vote, the bill must receive a majority vote from the committee and a statement signifying that the bill has been released with or without committee recommendation. A bill with the latter designation is generally regarded with low esteem by the leadership and other legislators. Certainly, if a lobbyist is advocating a bill's passage, every effort must be made to garner a positive committee recommendation.

Floor Consideration by the Assembly or Senate

Once a bill has been released from committee, there is no guarantee it will be considered by the assembly or senate. There is no provision in the Rules of the New Jersey Senate or Assembly for the automatic calendaring of bills after they have been released from committee. As a result of this situation, it becomes necessary for lobbyists to call attention to the bills they support by lobbying the appropriate persons in each house to schedule their legislation for floor votes.

The assembly speaker and the senate president, aided by their respective partisan staffs, determine which bills are calendared for a floor vote. It is extremely important for lobbyists to contact these legislative leaders to make sure that the bills they support are not lost in the shuffle between committee and full house consideration.

Once a bill has been released from committee, the assembly speaker or the senate president should be provided with adequate information about the bill. A factual, but brief position statement is helpful in addition to information about the bill's supporters inside and outside the legislature. Sometimes it is necessary to provide leadership with a list of the bill's opponents and their positions.

Before approaching the senate president or assembly speaker, a lobbyist must assess support and opposition to a particular bill — leadership likes to know, in advance, what the chances are for the passage of a particular bill. There is some reluctance, particularly in the senate, to post bills which stand very little chance of passage.

Once a bill is posted for a floor vote, it needs forty-one votes in the assembly and twenty-one in the senate to pass. A bill can be amended on the floor of either house, but the process is complicated and should be fully understood before it is attempted. To amend a bill on the floor, the bill must be moved back to second reading for the purpose of amendment. This procedure requires a majority vote in either house. After amendments are adopted or rejected, the bill must then be moved from second to third reading for final passage. However, the New Jersey Constitution provides that one calendar day must intervene before the bill can be moved from second to third reading. This provision can be overruled by suspending the rules. But suspending the rules requires sixty votes in the assembly and thirty in the senate. Therefore, unless a bill has tremendous support, and the legislative time clock is running out, it is inadvisable to attempt to amend a bill and gain final passage on the same day.

The process described above from assignment to committee to full house consideration must be repeated in the second house before a bill is sent to the governor for signature or veto.

Governor

In order for a bill to become law, it must be signed by the governor. The state constitution provides that once a bill is delivered to the governor, it automatically becomes law ten days after delivery, unless the governor signs it or returns it with objections within this period of time. However, it is the custom of the legislature not to deliver bills until the governor calls for them. This situation creates yet another place for a bill to get lost. Once a bill has passed both houses of the legislature, it is essential to contact the governor's office, specifically the legislative counsel, to determine whether or not a bill will be signed, and when that event is scheduled to take place. The governor's office should receive appropriate explanatory information about the bill, and sufficient information regarding its supporters.

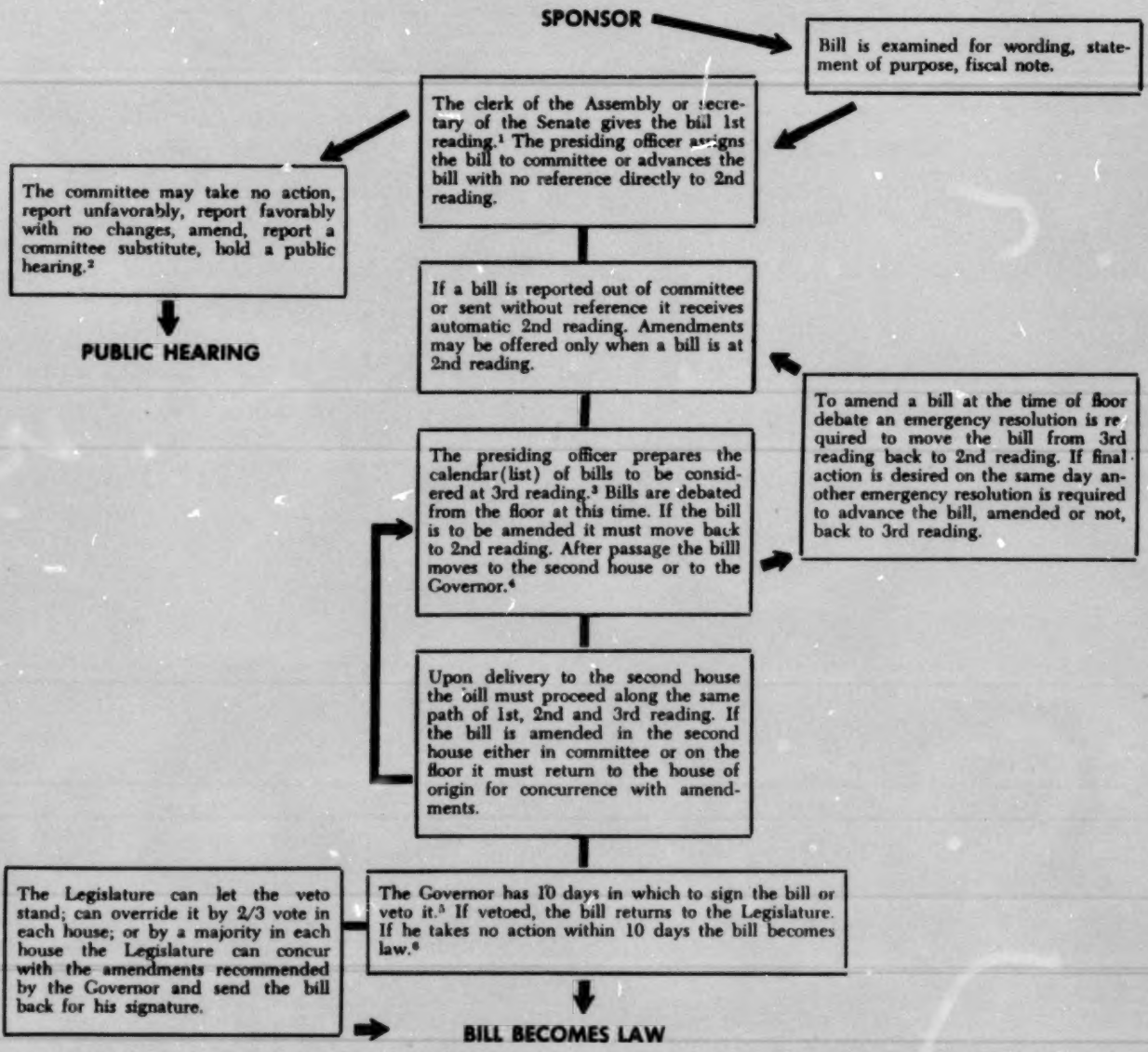
In many cases, it becomes necessary to demonstrate the amount of support for a particular bill. At this time, an appropriate strategy to accomplish this goal must be devised.

Following *sine die adjournment*, the governor has forty-five days to act on passed bills which have not been delivered to the executive office. However, if the forty-five day period extends beyond the end of the legislative year in the first annual session, the governor may sign the bill or send it back to the legislature with objections during the second annual session; or the governor can allow any bill that has been delivered to the executive office to become law simply by inaction during this time period. At the end of the second annual session, however, any bill signed by the governor within the forty-five day period becomes law, and any bill not signed by the governor dies. This latter action is called a *pocket veto*.

A Bill Becomes a Law

The following chart graphically illustrates the route a bill must go through from legislative introduction to its ultimate enactment as law when the governor signs it.

HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW


SPONSOR
Bill is examined for wording, statement of purpose, fiscal note.
The clerk of the Assembly or secretary of the Senate gives the bill 1st reading.[1] The presiding officer assigns the bill to committee or advances the bill with no reference directly to 2nd reading.
The committee may take no action, report unfavorably, report favorably with no changes, amend, report a committee substitute, hold a public hearing.[2]
PUBLIC HEARING
If a bill is reported out of committee or sent without reference it receives automatic 2nd reading. Amendments may be offered only when a bill is at 2nd reading.
To amend a bill at the time of floor debate an emergency resolution is required to move the bill from 3rd reading back to 2nd reading. If final action is desired on the same day another emergency resolution is required to advance the bill, amended or not, back to 3rd reading.
The presiding officer prepares the calendar (list) of bills to be considered at 3rd reading.[3] Bills are debated from the floor at this time. If the bill is to be amended it must move back to 2nd reading. After passage the billl moves to the second house or to the Governor.[4]
Upon delivery to the second house the bill must proceed along the same path of 1st, 2nd and 3rd reading. If the bill is amended in the second house either in committee or on the floor it must return to the house of origin for concurrence with amendments.
The Legislature can let the veto stand; can override it by 2/3 vote in each house; or by a majority in each house the Legislature can concur with the amendments recommended by the Governor and send the bill back for his signature.
The Governor has 10 days in which to sign the bill or veto it.[5] If vetoed, the bill returns to the Legislature. If he takes no action within 10 days the bill becomes law.[6]
BILL BECOMES LAW

1. A bill is "read" by number and title only. Bills are never read in their entirety at any time during the three obligatory readings.
2. A majority vote of the committee members is required to report out a bill.
3. Under the Constitution one calendar day must elapse between 2nd and 3rd reading. This may be waived under an emergency resolution.
4. On 3rd reading bills that are not passed may be (1) *laid on the table* if a motion is adopted prior to the announcement of roll call; (2) *reconsidered* upon request of one who voted on the prevailing side, with concurrence of the majority to proceed, and providing the bill originally received 15 votes in the Senate, 30 in the Assembly; (3) *recommitted* upon motion by the sponsor and a majority vote; (4) *defeated*.
5. The Governor may conditionally veto a bill, sending it back to the Legislature with recommendations for amendments; he may veto line items in an appropriations bill without vetoing the entire bill.
6. The Governor has 45 days (excluding Sundays) to act on those bills delivered to him *within 10 days of the end of the two-year legislative term*. He may sign the bill into law, veto it, or "pocket veto" it by not signing. Thus, at the end of a legislative term the Governor can kill a bill by not signing it as well as by vetoing it.

Reproduced courtesy of League of Women Voters of New Jersey, 460 Bloomfield Avenue, Montclair, N.J. 07042

A Bill Becomes a Law

In order to explain fully the steps a bill must take before it becomes law, we shall take one bill and describe its path through the legislative process.

The following act, A-1518, established a Division on Women in the Department of Community Affairs and was introduced in the assembly on April 4, 1974, by then Assemblywoman Betty Wilson (D-Union). It was cosponsored by nine other assembly members, and was assigned to the Assembly State Government, Federal and Interstate Relations Committee.

All legislation will include the items designated on this bill. The prologue is called the statement of intent and the final statement is a statement of purpose. The final statement is not considered to be part of the legislation, and as a result of this, when litigation occurs, it does not carry as much weight in court as the initial statement of intent.

A-1518 was considered by the Assembly State Government Committee on May 2, 1974 and released favorably without amendment by a vote of 7 to 3.

On May 13, 1974, A-1518 was calendared for a floor vote. However, because the bill had to be amended on the floor, it was moved back from third reading and final passage to second reading for the purpose of amendment. (Please note that a bill can only be amended on second reading.) The amendments were adopted by the assembly by a vote of 65-1. But, in order to vote on A-1518 on May 13, the same day on which it was amended on the floor, the bill needed an "Emergency Vote" of three-fourths of the assembly (or sixty votes) to move it from second to third reading. The constitution provides that one calendar day must intervene between amending a bill and its final passage. However, the constitution does provide that in case of an "emergency," a three-fourths vote is required to accomplish this task on the same day.

The amended bill was declared an "emergency" and moved from second to third reading with the required number of votes. It was then passed by the assembly by a vote of 55-16.

The assembly amendments specified that the director of the Division on Women shall work under the direct supervision of the Commissioner of the Department of Community Affairs. They also gave the division the additional responsibility of serving as a search committee for locating and recommending talented women to serve in state government. Finally, the appropriation for the division was increased from $100,000 to $150,000 per year.

After its passage in the assembly, A-1518 was sent to the senate where it went "No reference." This terminology means that it was not assigned to a senate standing reference committee. However, on May 16, the bill was sent to the Revenue, Finance and Appropriations Committee for consideration, probably because of its significant appropriation.

A-1518 was considered in this senate committee, amended and released favorably by a vote of 7-0 on June 13, 1974. A statement promulgated by the committee was also released with the bill. In amending the bill, the Revenue, Finance and Appropriations Committee struck out the appropriation contending that revenues for the division were already provided for in the 1974-75 state budget.

On June 17, 1974, A-1518 was given third reading and final passage in the senate, where it passed by a vote of 29-0.

However, because A-1518 had been amended in the senate, it had to be returned to the assembly for concurrence on the senate amendments. In this phase of the legislative process, further amendments are prohibited. Only a vote on whether to accept or reject the amendments of the other house is permitted.

On June 24, the assembly voted to concur on the amendments by a vote of 62-1.

The Division on Women became a reality on August 26, 1974, when Governor Byrne signed A-1518 into law as P.L. (Public Law), 1974, Chapter 87.

The law set criteria for selecting the director of the Division on Women and described the process by which she was to be appointed. It also established a chain of responsibility so that, in effect, the director is responsible to the Commissioner of the Department of Community Affairs, but the director has full administrative responsibility for the Division on Women.

Section 5 of the law describes the duties and powers of the director, which are spelled out in subsections a-c, lines 3-18.

The powers and responsibilities of the division are enumerated in Section 6, under subsections a-j, lines 3-36.

Subsequent to this section, the composition and the powers of the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women are spelled out in Section 7, lines 1-15; Section 8, lines 1-7; Section 9, lines 1-6; Section 10, lines 1-3.

Finally, the law cites a previous statute which is repealed by the enactment of this law.

The concluding section carries the effective date of this act — July 1, 1974.

There are several interesting aspects to this law which should be noted. The markings explained below are the same ones used in other New Jersey laws. All material bracketed [ ] in black ink and marked with two asterisks on either side ** ** is deleted from the text. All material in *italics* has been added to the bill during the legislative process. As we have noted in following A-1518 through the legislative process, these deletions and additions were amendments to the bill.

The numbers that appear in the left-hand margins of the law denote the line numbers within each section, and help the reader refer easily to a particular part of a law. Each section begins with a new number and each subsection with a lower case letter. For example: Section 5 begins on page 2; it is divided into three subsections marked a-c; and runs from lines 1-18.

In signing a bill into law, the governor usually issues a statement. Governor Byrne's message on A-1518 is included on page 37.

Step 1
Introduction in Assembly

ASSEMBLY, No. 1518

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Date introduced — INTRODUCED APRIL 4, 1974

Sponsor

Cosponsors — By Assemblywomen WILSON, BERMAN, TOTARO, CURRAN, CROCE, BURGIO, Assemblymen WOODSON, BAER, BARBOUR and GLADSTONE

Assembly Committee Assignment — Referred to Committee on State Government, Federal and Interstate Relations

Intent — AN ACT establishing and concerning a Division on Women in the Department of Community Affairs, prescribing its powers and duties, providing an appropriation therefor, supplementing the "Department of Community Affairs Act of 1966," approved November 23, 1966 (P. L. 1966, c. 293) and repealing "An act establishing and concerning a women's division in the Department of Community Affairs, prescribing its powers and duties, providing for an appropriation therefor, and supplementing the 'Department of Community Affairs Act of 1966,' approved November 23, 1966 (P. L. 1966, c. 293)," approved May 12, 1969 (P. L. 1969, c. 40).

Amendment to existing law

BE IT ENACTED *by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:*

1. This act shall be known as, and may be cited as, the "Division on Women Act of 1974."

2. There is hereby established in the Department of Community Affairs a Division on Women. The division shall consist of a director and the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women.

3. The Director of the Division on Women shall be a person qualified by training and experience to perform the duties of his or her office. The director shall be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall serve at the pleasure of the Governor during the Governor's term of office and until the appointment and qualification of a successor. The director shall receive such salary as shall be provided by law.

4. The director shall be assisted in the performance of his or her duties by a deputy director, who shall be a person qualified by training and experience to perform the duties of his or her office.

5. The Division on Women shall be under the supervision of the director. The director shall:

a. Appoint and remove such professionals, technical and clerical assistants, and employees, subject to the provisions of Title 11, Civil Service of the Revised Statutes, and other applicable statutes, as may be necessary to enable the division to perform the duties imposed upon it by this act and shall fix their compensation within the limits of available appropriations and as shall be provided by law;

b. Select and retain the services of consultants whose advice is considered necessary to assist the division in obtaining information or developing plans and programs required for the performance of the duties and responsibilities of the division as provided by this act;

c. Attend all meetings of the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women and its committees but shall have no vote. The director may delegate to subordinate officers or employees the responsibility to attend the meetings of the commission.

6. The division, under the supervision and leadership of the director, shall:

a. Serve as the central permanent agency for the coordination of programs and services for the women of New Jersey and for the evaluation of the effectiveness of their implementation and as a planning agency for the development of new programs and services;

b. Establish a liaison with all other governmental departments and agencies involved with the enforcement of laws, ordinances and regulations and with the development of programs affecting the status of women;

c. Request State departments and other public and private agencies on a State, county, and local level to initiate joint efforts to promote the expansion of rights and opportunities available to the women of this State;

d. Cooperate with all Federal and interstate programs and services provided for women;

e. Engage in a continuous study of the changing needs and concerns of women in New Jersey and develop and recommend new programs to the Governor and the Legislature:

f. Consult with, advise, and otherwise provide professional assistance to organized efforts by communities, organizations, associations and groups which are working toward the goal of improving the status of women;

g. Serve as a clearing house to publish and disseminate information and to provide assistance and direction to women with specific problems and needs;

h. Report annually to the Commissioner of the Department of Community Affairs and the Governor on its activities and recommendations;

i. Do all other things necessary to carry out the powers and duties granted under this act.

7. The New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women shall consist of 11 citizen members each of whom shall be appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for 3 years and until his or her successor is appointed and qualified, except that of those first appointed four each should be appointed for a term of 3 years, four each for a term of 2 years, and three each for a term of 1 year. Each vacancy caused by other than expiration shall be filled for the unexpired term only. The members of the commission shall be persons who represent varying racial and socio-economic backgrounds, age groups, occupations, and geographical locations and shall include persons who represent the interests of Statewide women's organizations. A chairperson and other officers of the commission shall be elected from among the members by the members for a term of 2 years.

8. The commission, acting jointly and as a body, shall advise the Director of the Division on Women on matters referred to it by the director and may originate and make recommendations to the director concerning policies and their implementation. The commission, or any member thereof, may not act in the name of or as an agent of the Division on Women or give instructions to the director or a member of the staff of the division.

9. The commission shall meet at regular intervals and at least four times annually. The times and places for the said meetings shall be fixed by the commission and special meetings may be called by the chairperson on not less than 10 days' written notice to each member. The commission may adopt bylaws for the regulation of its affairs.

10. The members of the commission shall serve without compensation but shall be entitled to reimbursement for their necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

Appropriation

11. There is hereby appropriated $100,000.00 for fiscal year 1974-75 to carry out the purposes of this act.

12. P. L. 1969, c. 40 (C. 52:27D-43.1 to 52:27D-43.7 inclusive) is repealed.

13. This act shall take effect July 1, 1974.

STATEMENT

This bill establishes a Division on Women in the Department of Community Affairs. It substantially modifies former legislation on this issue to reflect the experience of the operation of both the Commission on Women and the Women's Division.

Purpose

The new Division on Women, under the guidance of the director and with input from the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women, shall determine objectives, establish priorities and designate policies for the expansion of rights and opportunities available to the women in this State. This will be accomplished through research, investigation, and coordination by the Division on Women. The Division on Women shall also be responsible for liaison and cooperation with the enforcement of laws concerning the status of women in this State.

Step 2
Assembly Amendments

ASSEMBLY AMENDMENTS TO

ASSEMBLY, No. 1518

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Date of Assembly Committee Amendments ADOPTED MAY 13, 1974

Amend page 1, section 3, line 6, after "successor.", insert a new sentence as follows: "The director shall administer the work of such division under the direction and supervision of the commissioner, and shall perform such other functions of the department as the commissioner may prescribe.".

Amend page 3, section 6, after line 27, insert a new subsection "h." as follows:

"h. Act as a search committee for the Governor and other executive officers in the State Government for the purpose of discovering and recommending women who are talented and qualified to serve in the Executive Branch of the State Government;",

Amend page 3, section 6, line 28, omit "h.", insert "i.".

Amend page 3, section 6, line 31, omit "i.", insert "j.".

Amend page 3, section 7, line 10, after "racial", insert ", ethnic".

Amend page 4, section 11, line 1, omit "$100,000.00", insert "$150,000.00".

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Step 3
Amended Assembly Bill
Sent to Senate

[OFFICIAL COPY REPRINT]

ASSEMBLY, No. 1518

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

INTRODUCED APRIL 4, 1974

By Assemblywomen WILSON, BERMAN, TOTARO, CURRAN, CROCE, BURGIO, Assemblymen WOODSON, BAER, BARBOUR and GLADSTONE

Referred to Committee on State Government, Federal and Interstate Relations

AN ACT establishing and concerning a Division on Women in the Department of Community Affairs, prescribing its powers and duties, providing an appropriation therefor, supplementing the "Department of Community Affairs Act of 1966," approved November 23, 1966 (P. L. 1966, c. 293) and repealing "An act establishing and concerning a women's division in the Department of Community Affairs, prescribing its powers and duties, providing for an appropriation therefor, and supplementing the 'Department of Community Affairs Act of 1966,' approved November 23, 1966 (P. L. 1966, c. 293)," approved May 12, 1969 (P. L. 1969, c. 40).

BE IT ENACTED *by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:*

1. This act shall be known as, and may be cited as, the "Division on Women Act of 1974."

2. There is hereby established in the Department of Community Affairs a Division on Women. The division shall consist of a director and the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women.

3. The Director of the Division on Women shall be a person qualified by training and experience to perform the duties of his or her office. The director shall be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall serve at the pleasure of the Governor during the Governor's term of office and until the appointment and qualification of a successor. *The director shall administer the work of such division under the direc-

Amendment

EXPLANATION—Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets [thus] in the above bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted in the law.

Amendment

*tion and supervision of the commissioner, and shall perform such other functions of the department as the commissioner may prescribe.** The director shall receive such salary as shall be provided by law.

4. The director shall be assisted in the performance of his or her duties by a deputy director, who shall be a person qualified by training and experience to perform the duties of his or her office.

5. The Division on Women shall be under the supervision of the director. The director shall:

a. Appoint and remove such professionals, technical and clerical assistants, and employees, subject to the provisions of Title 11, Civil Service of the Revised Statutes, and other applicable statutes, as may be necessary to enable the division to perform the duties imposed upon it by this act and shall fix their compensation within the limits of available appropriations and as shall be provided by law;

b. Select and retain the services of consultants whose advice is considered necessary to assist the division in obtaining information or developing plans and programs required for the performance of the duties and responsibilities of the division as provided by this act;

c. Attend all meetings of the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women and its committees but shall have no vote. The director may delegate to subordinate officers or employees the responsibility to attend the meetings of the commission.

6. The division, under the supervision and leadership of the director, shall:

a. Serve as the central permanent agency for the coordination of programs and services for the women of New Jersey and for the evaluation of the effectiveness of their implementation and as a planning agency for the development of new programs and services;

b. Establish a liaison with all other governmental departments and agencies involved with the enforcement of laws, ordinances and regulations and with the development of programs affecting the status of women;

c. Request State departments and other public and private agencies on a State, county, and local level to initiate joint efforts to promote the expansion of rights and opportunities available to the women of this State;

d. Cooperate with all Federal and interstate programs and services provided for women;

e. Engage in a continuous study of the changing needs and concerns of women in New Jersey and develop and recommend new programs to the Governor and the Legislature;

f. Consult with, advise, and otherwise provide professional assistance to organized efforts by communities, organizations, associations and groups which are working toward the goal of improving the status of women;

g. Serve as a clearing house to publish and disseminate information and to provide assistance and direction to women with specific problems and needs;

Amendment

*h. *Act as a search committee for the Governor and other executive officers in the State Government for the purpose of discovering and recommending women who are talented and qualified to serve in the Executive Branch of the State Government;**

Amendment

[h.] *i.* Report annually to the Commissioner of the Department of Community Affairs and the Governor on its activities and recommendations;

Amendment

[i.] *j.* Do all other things necessary to carry out the powers and duties granted under this act.

7. The New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women shall consist of 11 citizen members each of whom shall be appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for 3 years and until his or her successor is appointed and qualified, except that of those first appointed four each should be appointed for a term of 3 years, four each for a term of 2 years, and three each for a term of 1 year. Each vacancy caused by other than expiration shall be filled for the unexpired term only. The members of the commission shall be persons who represent varying racial*, *ethnic** and socio-economic backgrounds, age groups, occupations, and geographical locations and shall include persons who represent the interests of Statewide women's organizations. A chairperson and other officers of the commission shall be elected from among the members by the members for a term of 2 years.

8. The commission, acting jointly and as a body, shall advise the Director of the Division on Women on matters referred to it by the director and may originate and make recommendations to the director concerning policies and their implementation. The commission, or any member thereof, may not act in the name of or as an agent of the Division on Women or give instructions to the director or a member of the staff of the division.

9. The commission shall meet at regular intervals and at least four times annually. The times and places for the said meetings

shall be fixed by the commission and special meetings may be called by the chairperson on not less than 10 days' written notice to each member. The commission may adopt bylaws for the regulation of its affairs.

10. The members of the commission shall serve without compensation but shall be entitled to reimbursement for their necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

11. There is hereby appropriated *[$100,000.00]* *$150,000.00* for fiscal year 1974-75 to carry out the purposes of this act.

12. P. L. 1969, c. 40 (C. 52:27D-43.1 to 52:27D-43.7 inclusive) is repealed.

13. This act shall take effect July 1, 1974.

Step 4
Senate Committee Amendments

SENATE COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS TO

ASSEMBLY, No. 1518

[OFFICIAL COPY REPRINT]

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

ADOPTED JUNE 13, 1974

Amend page 1, title, line 3, after "duties", delete "providing an appropriation therefor,".

Amend page 3, section 7, line 13, after "chairperson", insert "shall be appointed by the Governor.".

Amend page 3, section 7, line 13, omit "and other", insert "Other".

Amend page 4, section 11, lines 1 and 2, omit entire section 11.

Amend page 4, section 12, line 1, delete "12", insert "11".

Amend page 4, section 13, line 1, delete "13", insert "12".

Step 4
Statement Issued by Senate Committee When It Released the Amended Bill

SENATE REVENUE, FINANCE AND APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

STATEMENT TO

ASSEMBLY, No. 1518

[OFFICIAL COPY REPRINT]

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

DATED: JUNE 13, 1974

It is the purpose of this act to create a Division on Women in the Department of Community Affairs, consisting of an operating division and the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women. It is the further purpose of this act to repeal P. L. 1969, c. 40 (C. 52:27D–43.1 to 52:27D–43.7 inclusive), the current statute supplemental to the "Department of Community Affairs Act of 1966" which created a women's division.

This act establishes the Division on Women at the same level as other operating divisions in the executive branch, with the director an appointment by Governor with advice and consent of the Senate, specific duties and obligations required of the director, and operating under the direction and supervision of the Commissioner of Community Affairs.

In amending the bill to exclude an appropriation clause, the committee observes a line item appropriation in the fiscal year 1974-75 Appropriations Act specifically for the purposes of this act and finds that appropriation sufficient for the purposes of this act. It is the intent of the committee to provide funding for the division, but not in addition to the $100,000.00 already provided in the fiscal year 1974-75 Appropriations Act.

Step 5
Bill With Senate Committee Amendments Ready For a Senate Vote

SENATE REPRINT

ASSEMBLY, No. 1518

[OFFICIAL COPY REPRINT]

with Senate committee amendments adopted June 13, 1974

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

INTRODUCED APRIL 4, 1974

By Assemblywomen WILSON, BERMAN, TOTARO, CURRAN, CROCE, BURGIO, Assemblymen WOODSON, BAER, BARBOUR and GLADSTONE

Referred to Committee on State Government, Federal and Interstate Relations

AN ACT establishing and concerning a Division on Women in the Department of Community Affairs, prescribing its powers and duties, **[providing an appropriation therefor.]** supplementing the "Department of Community Affairs Act of 1966," approved November 23, 1966 (P. L. 1966, c. 293) and repealing "An act establishing and concerning a women's division in the Department of Community Affairs, prescribing its powers and duties, providing for an appropriation therefor, and supplementing the 'Department of Community Affairs Act of 1966,' approved November 23, 1966 (P. L. 1966, c. 293)," approved May 12, 1969 (P. L. 1969, c. 40).

BE IT ENACTED *by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:*

1. This act shall be known as, and may be cited as, the "Division on Women Act of 1974."

2. There is hereby established in the Department of Community Affairs a Division on Women. The division shall consist of a director and the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women.

3. The Director of the Division on Women shall be a person qualified by training and experience to perform the duties of his or her office. The director shall be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall serve at the pleasure of the Governor during the Governor's term of office

EXPLANATION—Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets [thus] in the above bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted in the law.

and until the appointment and qualification of a successor. *The director shall administer the work of such division under the direction and supervision of the commissioner, and shall perform such other functions of the department as the commissioner may prescribe.* The director shall receive such salary as shall be provided by law.

4. The director shall be assisted in the performance of his or her duties by a deputy director, who shall be a person qualified by training and experience to perform the duties of his or her office.

5. The Division on Women shall be under the supervision of the director. The director shall:

a. Appoint and remove such professionals, technical and clerical assistants, and employees, subject to the provisions of Title 11, Civil Service of the Revised Statutes, and other applicable statutes, as may be necessary to enable the division to perform the duties imposed upon it by this act and shall fix their compensation within the limits of available appropriations and as shall be provided by law;

b. Select and retain the services of consultants whose advice is considered necessary to assist the division in obtaining information or developing plans and programs required for the performance of the duties and responsibilities of the division as provided by this act;

c. Attend all meetings of the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women and its committees but shall have no vote. The director may delegate to subordinate officers or employees the responsibility to attend the meetings of the commission.

6. The division, under the supervision and leadership of the director, shall:

a. Serve as the central permanent agency for the coordination of programs and services for the women of New Jersey and for the evaluation of the effectiveness of their implementation and as a planning agency for the development of new programs and services;

b. Establish a liaison with all other governmental departments and agencies involved with the enforcement of laws, ordinances and regulations and with the development of programs affecting the status of women;

c. Request State departments and other public and private agencies on a State, county, and local level to initiate joint efforts to promote the expansion of rights and opportunities available to the women of this State;

d. Cooperate with all Federal and interstate programs and services provided for women;

e. Engage in a continuous study of the changing needs and concerns of women in New Jersey and develop and recommend new programs to the Governor and the Legislature;

f. Consult with, advise, and otherwise provide professional assistance to organized efforts by communities, organizations, associations and groups which are working toward the goal of improving the status of women;

g. Serve as a clearing house to publish and disseminate information and to provide assistance and direction to women with specific problems and needs;

*h. *Act as a search committee for the Governor and other executive officers in the State Government for the purpose of discovering and recommending women who are talented and qualified to serve in the Executive Branch of the State Government;**

[h.] *i.* Report annually to the Commissioner of the Department of Community Affairs and the Governor on its activities and recommendations;

[i.] *j.* Do all other things necessary to carry out the powers and duties granted under this act.

7. The New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women shall consist of 11 citizen members each of whom shall be appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for 3 years and until his or her successor is appointed and qualified, except that of those first appointed four each should be appointed for a term of 3 years, four each for a term of 2 years, and three each for a term of 1 year. Each vacancy caused by other than expiration shall be filled for the unexpired term only. The members of the commission shall be persons who represent varying racial*, *ethnic** and socio-economic backgrounds, age groups, occupations, and geographical locations and shall include persons who represent the interests of Statewide women's organizations. A chairperson ***shall be appointed by the Governor.*** ***[and other]*** ***Other*** officers of the commission shall be elected from among the members by the members for a term of 2 years.

8. The commission, acting jointly and as a body, shall advise the Director of the Division on Women on matters referred to it by the director and may originate and make recommendations to the director concerning policies and their implementation. The commission, or any member thereof, may not act in the name of or as an agent of the Division on Women or give instructions to the director or a member of the staff of the division.

9. The commission shall meet at regular intervals and at least four times annually. The times and places for the said meetings shall be fixed by the commission and special meetings may be called by the chairperson on not less than 10 days' written notice to each member. The commission may adopt bylaws for the regulation of its affairs.

10. The members of the commission shall serve without compensation but shall be entitled to reimbursement for their necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

Senate Committee Amendments

[11. There is hereby appropriated *[$100,000.00]* *$150,000.00* for fiscal year 1974-75 to carry out the purposes of this act.]

[12.] **11.** P. L. 1969, c. 40 (C. 52:27D-43.1 to 52:27D-43.7 inclusive) is repealed.

[13.] **12.** This act shall take effect July 1, 1974.

Step 6 — Concurrence in Senate Amendments (No Bill)

Step 7 — Law As Governor Signed It

C. 52:27D–43.8 et seq.

P. L. 1974, CHAPTER 87, *approved August 26, 1974*

1974 Assembly No. 1518 (*Second Official Copy Reprint*)

AN ACT establishing and concerning a Division on Women in the Department of Community Affairs, prescribing its powers and duties, **[providing an appropriation therefor,]** supplementing the "Department of Community Affairs Act of 1966," approved November 23, 1966 (P. L. 1966, c. 293) and repealing "An act establishing and concerning a women's division in the Department of Community Affairs, prescribing its powers and duties, providing for an appropriation therefor, and supplementing the 'Department of Community Affairs Act of 1966,' approved November 23, 1966 (P. L. 1966, c. 293)," approved May 12, 1969 (P. L. 1969, c. 40).

BE IT ENACTED *by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:*

1. This act shall be known as, and may be cited as, the "Division on Women Act of 1974."

2. There is hereby established in the Department of Community Affairs a Division on Women. The division shall consist of a director and the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women.

3. The Director of the Division on Women shall be a person qualified by training and experience to perform the duties of his or her office. The director shall be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall serve at the pleasure of the Governor during the Governor's term of office

EXPLANATION—Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets [thus] in the above bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted in the law.

and until the appointment and qualification of a successor. **The director shall administer the work of such division under the direction and supervision of the commissioner, and shall perform such other functions of the department as the commissioner may prescribe.** The director shall receive such salary as shall be provided by law.

Amendments

4. The director shall be assisted in the performance of his or her duties by a deputy director, who shall be a person qualified by training and experience to perform the duties of his or her office.

5. The Division on Women shall be under the supervision of the director. The director shall:

Powers of the Director

a. Appoint and remove such professionals, technical and clerical assistants, and employees, subject to the provisions of Title 11, Civil Service of the Revised Statutes, and other applicable statutes, as may be necessary to enable the division to perform the duties imposed upon it by this act and shall fix their compensation within the limits of available appropriations and as shall be provided by law;

b. Select and retain the services of consultants whose advice is considered necessary to assist the division in obtaining information or developing plans and programs required for the performance of the duties and responsibilities of the division as provided by this act;

c. Attend all meetings of the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women and its committees but shall have no vote. The director may delegate to subordinate officers or employees the responsibility to attend the meetings of the commission.

6. The division, under the supervision and leadership of the director, shall:

Powers of the Division

a. Serve as the central permanent agency for the coordination of programs and services for the women of New Jersey and for the evaluation of the effectiveness of their implementation and as a planning agency for the development of new programs and services;

b. Establish a liaison with all other governmental departments and agencies involved with the enforcement of laws, ordinances and regulations and with the development of programs affecting the status of women;

c. Request State departments and other public and private agencies on a State, county, and local level to initiate joint efforts to promote the expansion of rights and opportunities available to the women of this State;

Powers of the Division

d. Cooperate with all Federal and interstate programs and services provided for women;

e. Engage in a continuous study of the changing needs and concerns of women in New Jersey and develop and recommend new programs to the Governor and the Legislature;

f. Consult with, advise, and otherwise provide professional assistance to organized efforts by communities, organizations, associations and groups which are working toward the goal of improving the status of women;

g. Serve as a clearing house to publish and disseminate information and to provide assistance and direction to women with specific problems and needs;

*h. *Act as a search committee for the Governor and other executive officers in the State Government for the purpose of discovering and recommending women who are talented and qualified to serve in the Executive Branch of the State Government;**

[h.] *i.* Report annually to the Commissioner of the Department of Community Affairs and the Governor on its activities and recommendations;

[i.] *j.* Do all other things necessary to carry out the powers and duties granted under this act.

Composition and Powers of the Advisory Commission

7. The New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women shall consist of 11 citizen members each of whom shall be appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for 3 years and until his or her successor is appointed and qualified, except that of those first appointed four each should be appointed for a term of 3 years, four each for a term of 2 years, and three each for a term of 1 year. Each vacancy caused by other than expiration shall be filled for the unexpired term only. The members of the commission shall be persons who represent varying racial*, *ethnic** and socio-economic backgrounds, age groups, occupations, and geographical locations and shall include persons who represent the interests of Statewide women's organizations. A chairperson ***shall be appointed by the Governor.*** ***[and other]*** ***Other*** officers of the commission shall be elected from among the members by the members for a term of 2 years.

8. The commission, acting jointly and as a body, shall advise the Director of the Division on Women on matters referred to it by the director and may originate and make recommendations to the director concerning policies and their implementation. The commission, or any member thereof, may not act in the name of or as an agent of the Division on Women or give instructions to the director or a member of the staff of the division.

Powers of Advisory Committee

9. The commission shall meet at regular intervals and at least four times annually. The times and places for the said meetings shall be fixed by the commission and special meetings may be called by the chairperson on not less than 10 days' written notice to each member. The commission may adopt bylaws for the regulation of its affairs.

10. The members of the commission shall serve without compensation but shall be entitled to reimbursement for their necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

Amended Out

••[11. There is hereby appropriated •[$100,000.00]• *•$150,000.00•* for fiscal year 1974-75 to carry out the purposes of this act.]••

••[12.]•• ••11.•• P. L. 1969, c. 40 (C. 52:27D–43.1 to 52:27D–43.7 inclusive) is repealed.

Effective Date

••[13.]•• ••12.•• This act shall take effect July 1, 1974.

Step 7
Governor's Message

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

August 26, 1974
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

For Further Information
DICK CAMPBELL

Governor Brendan Byrne signed into law Monday a bill, A-1518, establishing a Division on Women in the state Department of Community Affairs.

The bill, sponsored by Assemblywoman Betty Wilson, D-Union, upgrades the status and authority of the existing Office on Women.

Byrne also signed a proclamation designating today, August 26, as Equal Rights Day in commemoration of the 54th anniversary of the passage of the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which extended voting rights to women.

The proclamation noted that in April, 1972, New Jersey became the 13th state to ratify the equal rights amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

In signing the bill into law, Byrne said the new division emphasizes the administration's desire to deal effectively with matters relating to women.

"A major function of the new division is to search out and find qualified and talented women to serve in my administration," he said. "The division will work to ensure that the principle of equal treatment for all citizens becomes a reality."

The Governor said he hopes the Division will provide expanded opportunities for women to fulfill their career, social and educational goals.

The new law also creates a New Jersey Advisory Committee on the Status of Women.

The Director will serve at the pleasure of the Governor.

Among other things, the Division will:

- coordinate programs and services for women, evaluate their effectiveness and plan new programs and services.
- serve as a liaison for all state and local governments and agencies which have programs concerning women.
- encourage public and private agencies to join in efforts to promote women's rights and opportunities.
- cooperate with all federal and interstate women's programs.
- study women's needs and develop and recommend new programs to the Governor and the Legislature.
- consult with, advise and otherwise provide professional assistance to efforts by communities, organizations and groups which are working to improve the status of women.
- serve as a clearing house for publishing and disseminating information and providing assistance and direction to women with specific problems and needs.

####

Tactics and Strategies

Before researching the issues or understanding the legislative process, a lobbyist must acquire certain qualities which enhance effective advocacy.

Because the political process is frustratingly inefficient, it always takes longer than anticipated to achieve a legislative goal. Patience is a quality that must be cultivated.

A sense of humor also helps — both in communicating with legislators and in dealing with the pressures of the political process.

Restraint — legislators are pushed and pulled in many directions at the same time and they are subjected to enormous pressures. If one understands this fact of political life, one will not fight with legislators or push them to the wall.

Honesty — it never pays to lie. Once a legislator discovers that a lobbyist has provided her or him with false or misleading information, that lobbyist ceases to be a source of information. A lobbyist's credibility is not built on one issue alone. Rather, a lobbyist establishes a reputation over a period of time which consequently tends to lessen the importance of winning or losing on a single piece of legislation. On the other hand, misrepresentation can destroy a lobbyist's reputation forever.

Furthermore, in addition to patience, restraint, honesty, a sense of humor, and a thorough knowledge of the issues, a skillful lobbyist must be able to make an accurate assessment of the political climate relevant to each bill she supports or opposes.

Understanding the partisan composition of the legislature; knowing allies and opponents; and learning which arguments and tactics are being used by the opposition are critical elements in devising an effective lobbying plan.

Once a lobbyist learns how to maximize and exert influence, she can have an effect on the legislative process that exceeds both the popularity of the issue and the numbers of people who are affected directly by the enactment of the legislation. All legislators seeking re-election are aware that for every position they take, they can potentially gain or lose unknown numbers of votes on election day. Because it is very difficult to determine precisely how many ballots support or oppose a particular bill, many lobbyists attempt to convince legislators that a vote for their issue can mean a certain number of votes in the next election.[5]

When making this claim, however, advocates should be able to back up their assertions with results. The inability to deliver those votes becomes a liability and is certain to diminish a lobbyist's credibility in the legislative arena. During the 1977 gubernatorial election, conservative anti-income tax groups threatened to defeat Governor Byrne and his legislative allies because of their pro-tax positions. Unable to carry out this threat at the polls, their influence over the new legislature is lessened significantly despite their shrill voices.

Understanding the Legislative and Political Climate

Effective lobbying begins with a well-planned campaign, but before that process unfolds, it is important to understand what can affect the enactment of a piece of legislation.

It should be obvious that the first priority for any lobbyist is a thorough understanding of the issue being advocated and the specific legislation dealing with that issue. A clear understanding of what the legislation is designed to accomplish, and who will benefit from its passage, is essential. In addition, it is important to understand fully any negative effects that might result from enactment of the bill.

Following is a set of questions all lobbyists should ask themselves before beginning to plan a lobbying strategy:

- What are the pro's and con's of this bill?
- Who are my potential allies?
- Who are my potential opponents?
- What kind of influence do my allies and opponents have in the legislative arena?
- What are the fiscal implications of this piece of legislation? How much will it cost? State level? Local level?
- What affect will passage of this legislation have on local government? State government? Individuals?
- Which districts will benefit from enactment of this legislation? Which districts will be harmed?

- Have other states passed similar legislation? What have been the effects of these laws in other states?
- Is Congress considering similar legislation?

Once these questions have been answered, it is necessary to analyze fully and to understand thoroughly the existing political climate within which the lobbyist works. A lobbyist must know the partisan composition of the legislature:

Who is in the majority in each house?

Who is in the minority in each house?

How many members are in each party in both houses?

Who holds leadership positions in each house?

To which committees could the bill most likely be assigned?

Who are the chairpersons of those committees?

Who are my potential friends on the committee?

Who are my opponents?

Furthermore, it is necessary to understand the potential implications of any forthcoming election. Most legislators are politicians who are concerned about being re-elected. To a great degree, their re-election depends upon their ability to satisfy a majority of their constituents, or at least the more powerful or organized forces among them. Consequently, a successful lobbyist must try to convince a legislator that she or he represents a significant constituency — either in numbers or economic influence — and that support of the bill will be beneficial politically to a particular legislator. This is not to say, however, that a clear and convincing argument based on the merits of a bill cannot have as much influence as a significant constituency.

Understanding Legislators

To understand which interests, pressure groups, and individuals carry the most influence with a particular legislator, a lobbyist should accumulate as much information as possible about legislators. A biography of every legislator should include:

- Occupation
- Prior public offices
- Most recent campaign information: How many votes did they win by? What were their campaign issues?
- Education
- Personal history and religious affiliation
- Campaign contributors
- Legislative interests
- District and constituent information
- Staff members and advisers
- Voting record
- Relationships with local and state party leaders
- Adversaries
- Any other items that might be added which would be helpful in understanding a particular legislator[6]

Agenda Setting: Raising and Framing the Issue

Most public issues rarely emerge before the general public without a concerted effort to call attention to them. But a skilled lobbyist can help foster consideration of her issue by creating an atmosphere conducive to favorable legislative action by the effective use of television, the press, and polling information. (See Media section.)

There is no substitute for accurate and comprehensive research to highlight and explain the issue. Hopefully, once the problem is clearly outlined, the need for a solution becomes self-evident. If that solution can be a legislative one,

an appropriate bill can be supported, or if no bill exists that addresses the problem, one can be drafted for introduction by an influential sponsor.

Dissemination of the information that has been compiled and organized to make the case is essential if the goal is consciousness raising on a particular issue. But the best means of making information public depends on what type of issue is being advocated. If the issue is an emotional one that lends itself to graphic illustration, every effort should be made to have the subject covered on *television news or magazine programs.* Television talk shows are another avenue of potential coverage. For example, the horrors of problems such as battered wives or child pornography can be portrayed most effectively on television. Television reaches the widest possible audience and is probably the most forceful means for calling attention to an issue.

New Jersey does not have its own commercial television station and must depend on coverage by the New York and Philadelphia stations, which have treated the state as a stepchild. Historically, out-of-state coverage of New Jersey has not been comprehensive. However, the state has a public television network which does a fine job of covering New Jersey's news. Unfortunately, at the present time, it only reaches a relatively small audience.

Another means of distributing background information is through the use of *editorial memoranda.* An editorial memorandum is usually a comprehensive statement that can vary in length from approximately three to twenty-five pages. Generally, it outlines the problem with appropriate facts and figures and then proposes solutions to correct the problem that is described. These memoranda can be distributed to editors of all daily newspapers or to reporters at a press conference.

Opinion polls are another vehicle for raising an issue. Many nationwide polling organizations continually take polls on a wide variety of issues. Much of this information is published in our daily newspapers or is available in libraries. Data derived from opinion polls can be used to make an argument for or against a particular issue. For example, in fighting rescission of New Jersey's ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, national polling data from the Gallup and Harris polls, and state polling data from the Eagleton Institute of Politics' poll were used to make the case that a clear majority of citizens around the country and in New Jersey are in favor of ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Finally, *pre-election questionnaires* distributed to candidates by various interest groups are often used to call attention to issues which concern those special interests. Candidates are asked for their responses to particular questions, and these responses are often published. This accomplishes the dual goal of calling attention to the issue and holding legislators to a particular position.

Because the use of questionnaires has increased significantly in the past few years, many candidates decline to answer questionnaires from all but the most powerful groups. Keeping these facts in mind, a lobbyist is well advised to maximize outside support before sending out questionnaires.

Direct Lobbying: Ask For That Vote!

Most legislators have at least a superficial knowledge of the most significant issues in the state. Therefore it is extremely important to know as much as possible about your issue before meeting with them.

In order to build a strong base of support for any bill, an effective lobbyist should use a variety of approaches which include: letters, direct contact, phone calls, and press releases.

An information packet should be prepared on every piece of legislation to be advocated. It should include:

A cover letter which describes the need for enacting the legislation, and which urges support.

A copy of the bill.

A background statement — for example, a newspaper or law journal article.

A list of supporting organizations, politicians, prominent individuals.

Editorials endorsing bill.

If possible, this package should be sent to legislators prior to meetings or phone conversations with them, so that they have the opportunity to review the material being discussed.

Personal contacts with legislators are important, and formal meetings with them must be planned carefully. To create a forward momentum, potential supporters should be contacted first. Some helpful hints for successful direct lobbying include:

- A delegation of one or more lobbyists should visit each legislator who might support the legislation or act as a cosponsor. At the meeting the lobbyist should present the information and her position.

- Advocates should listen to what the legislator has to say and take her/his questions, objections, and suggestions seriously. All questions should be answered accurately. If lobbyists do not know the answers to every question, make every effort to obtain answers quickly.

- Wherever possible, an immediate commitment to support the bill should be nailed down to help in persuading other legislators. Ask the legislator to be a cosponsor. It is important to remember, however, that many legislators do not like to make their positions public — especially on politically sensitive issues and therefore, be tactful in using another legislator's position as a lobbying device.

- After lining up supporters, a great deal of effort should be devoted to convincing the undecideds. Do not totally ignore the "no" votes. A lobbyist should be willing to explain her position — even to her opponents — if she has the time and they are willing to talk to her. Remember, the importance of this legislator's support on another bill in the future. It pays to be courteous. *At each point in the process, remember how many votes are needed. Keep a running tally of supporters.* To keep an accurate tally on votes for or against a piece of legislation, a tally sheet should be prepared which can be updated quickly and easily.

- Establishing good relationships with a legislator's personal and professional staff is crucial. Staff can provide access to legislators and are often influential. Being close to legislative staff is the next best thing to being close to a legislator. Offer staffers assistance by providing information, answering questions, preparing testimony, etc.

- Periodic follow-up contacts should be made in order to present relevant information, discuss changes in the status of legislation, or inform the member of new endorsements by influential constituents.

- Lobbyists must always know the exact status of their legislation. It is also helpful to keep a running count of how many votes have been lined up.

- Off-the-record comments should always be kept confidential.

Following is an example of a tally sheet which was compiled to analyze support for SCR64, which called for rescission of New Jersey's ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

new jersey coalition for the ERA Equal Rights Amendment

Y= Yea
N= Nay
?= Undecided

TALLY SHEET: SCR64, which calls for rescission of New Jersey's ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Senator (Party)	'72 Vote to ratify	'75 Vote ACR67: State ERA	SCR64 Current Position (12/13/76)
Cafiero (R)		Y	?
McGahn (D)	Y	Y	N
Zane (D)		Y	N
Maressa (D)	Y		Y (?)
Errichetti (D)			N
Ammond (D)			N
Hughes (D)	Y		Y
Parker (R)	Y	Y	N
Russo (D)		Y	N
Buehler (D)		Y	N
Beadleston (R)	Y	Y	Abstain
Bedell (D)		Y	Y (?)
Merlino (D)		Y	Abstain (?)
Martindell (D)		Y	N
Dumont (R)	Y	Y	N
Bateman (R)	Y	Y	N (?)
Lynch (D)			Absent (?)
Dwyer (D)		Y	N
Fay (D)	Y	Y	N
Menza (D)	Y	Y	Absent
Dunn (D)		N	Y (Co-sponsor)
McDonough (R)	Y	Y	Y (Co-sponsor)
Wiley (D)			Absent
Vreeland (R)	Y	Y	?
Wallwork (R)	Y	Y	N
Dodd (D)	Y	Y	N
Orechio (D)		Y	N
Greenberg (D)		Y	N
Lipman (D)	Y	Y	N
Imperiale (I)			Y (Co-sponsor)
Dugan (D)	Y	Y	N
Tumulty (D)		Y	N (?)
Musto (D)	Y	Y	N (?)
Hirkala (D)	Y	Y	N
Davenport (R)		Y	?
Scardino (D)		Y	Abstain
Feldman (D)		Y	N
Skevin (D)		Y	N
Garramone (D)		Y	N
Hagedorn (R)	Y	Y	N

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Lobbying the Committee

Most bills are reviewed by a standing reference committee before coming to a vote in either house of the legislature. Consequently, adept lobbyists must understand the committee system in order to steer their bills in the right direction. Once the bill has been assigned to committee, the lobbyist should work with its sponsor and the committee chairperson to insure that the bill is scheduled for committee consideration.

Some other points to remember when a bill is in committee:

1. Committee members should be given adequate material on the bill, as well as consulted for advice. Their questions should be answered.

2. Good relationships should be established with committee staff members, who have considerable influence over the fate of a bill.

3. Lobbyists should be available to speak on the bill in committee.

4. A public hearing can be excellent publicity for pending legislation and should be arranged if it will promote the legislation. In some cases, however, public hearings are held to stall a bill. If a hearing occurs, the lobbyist should have expert witnesses ready to testify on the bill.

5. It is important to keep track of the number of potential votes and never allow a vote until the bill has more supporters than are necessary for passage.

6. Local governmental bodies should be asked to pass resolutions in support of the legislation, and these resolutions should be brought to the attention of the committee, its staff, and, later, the legislature.

7. It is essential that the "yes" votes on the committee are actually present for the vote, because a majority of the committee must vote to release a bill.

8. After the vote, the "yes" votes should be thanked for their support both privately and publicly. Thanks can be extended through personal letters and through press releases in legislators' home districts. Disappointment should be conveyed to those voting "no."

Lobbying For a Floor Vote

The following points are helpful to remember when lobbying for a floor vote:

Contact with every legislator who is supporting the legislation, or is undecided is essential before a floor vote.

A weekly and, ultimately, a daily headcount should be taken to ascertain where the bill stands, and to determine where additional lobbying efforts would be most helpful.

Lobbyists from supporting groups should be asked for public support and/or their signatures on a letter to legislators.

As much positive press coverage as possible can be helpful in aiding the passage of legislation.

A mass rally at the capitol close to the day of the vote is one way to demonstrate mass support. However, demonstrations and rallies take an enormous amount of time to organize, and very often they prove to be counterproductive. They should be utilized with utmost discretion.

When the vote is taken, the gallery should be filled with polite, well-dressed supporters.

Advocates should be available to staff members and legislators who may want information

After the vote, all "yes" votes should be contacted and thanked for their support. Press releases mentioning their support should be sent to the media in their districts. All "no" votes should receive a letter expressing disappointment.[7]

Grass Roots Lobbying — Constituent Pressure

Almost every lobbying group — whether it is a corporation or a labor union — has the potential for exerting constituent pressure on legislators.

Grass roots lobbying, which is lobbying in a legislator's home district, can have a very positive influence on how a legislator votes on a particular bill. Remember, a legislator's constituents vote, and every smart politician knows that the "folks back home" should be listened to carefully. (It is also important to note that each legislative district is represented by one senator and two assembly members. Convincing only one member of the delegation often is sufficient to gain the support of the other two.)

At the local level, twenty or thirty citizens can effect changes in local policy if they work at it.

At the state level ten to twenty letters from constituents can make a difference.

At the national level fifty to one hundred letters can sway a congressperson.

The following techniques can be used in grass roots lobbying:

- Legislators should be visited in their district offices by their constituents, perhaps a small delegation representing a coalition of interested groups.
- Legislators should be presented with both written and oral information about the issue and informed of how many individuals in their districts are represented by the delegations. They should also be informed about how many people in their home districts will be affected by the proposed legislation.
- If possible, the legislator's position with regard to the issue should be determined.
- The legislator's district office staff should be contacted subsequently for any follow-up information, and for determining any change in position.

Mail — including letters, telegrams, and postcards — can be an effective way of indicating the extent of support. Obviously, the more mail legislators receive, the more impressed they are, making it important to rally as many writers as possible. Letters which appear to be spontaneous and original carry far more weight than form letters or petitions. Letter writers should indicate that they are constituents, but not that they are members of an organized group. Furthermore, mail should not be sent at random times, but rather targeted to reach legislators immediately before a vote. When timing is critical, a mailgram can be used. Athough a mailgram is more expensive than an ordinary letter, and does not allow for extensive background explanation, it does have the advantage of guaranteed overnight delivery.

common cause NEW JERSEY

28 WEST STATE STREET, RM. 910, TRENTON, NEW JERSEY 08608 ☐ 609-396-1150

Dear Senator,

When the Senate reconvenes, you will be asked to consider A 3140, an act to amend "The New Jersey Campaign Contributions and Expenditures Reporting Act." New Jersey Common Cause strongly supports this measure and would like to call your attention to certain provisions of the legislation which we feel are crucial.

When the Campaign Contributions and Expenditures Reporting Act was originally passed by the Legislature in 1973, the law provided for comprehensive reporting by both political committees and political information organizations to the Election Law Enforcement Commission. Before the initial reports were due to be filed, various lobbying and special interest groups attacked the reporting provisions in court. The mainstay of their argument was that the threshold for requiring such reporting was too low. The trial judge agreed with the allegation despite clarifying regulations by the ELEC. This decision has impeded the basic thrust of the law while the case is on appeal.

Passage of A 3140 by the Senate will remove the objection raised by the trial judge and will deter further delaying tactics. The public has a right to know the information required to be disclosed under this law. Unfortunately, this information has been withheld now for four years by the dilatory strategy of special interest groups.

The Assembly has recognized the importance of this bill and has passed A 3140 unanimously. Although the same lobbying and special interest groups will seek to have this legislation defeated or diluted in order to forestall disclosure, Common Cause requests that you give A 3140 quick approval in the Senate. If you would like further information on the bill, please feel free to contact us.

Very truly yours,

William S. Singer

William S. Singer, Chairman
New Jersey Common Cause

WSS:pag

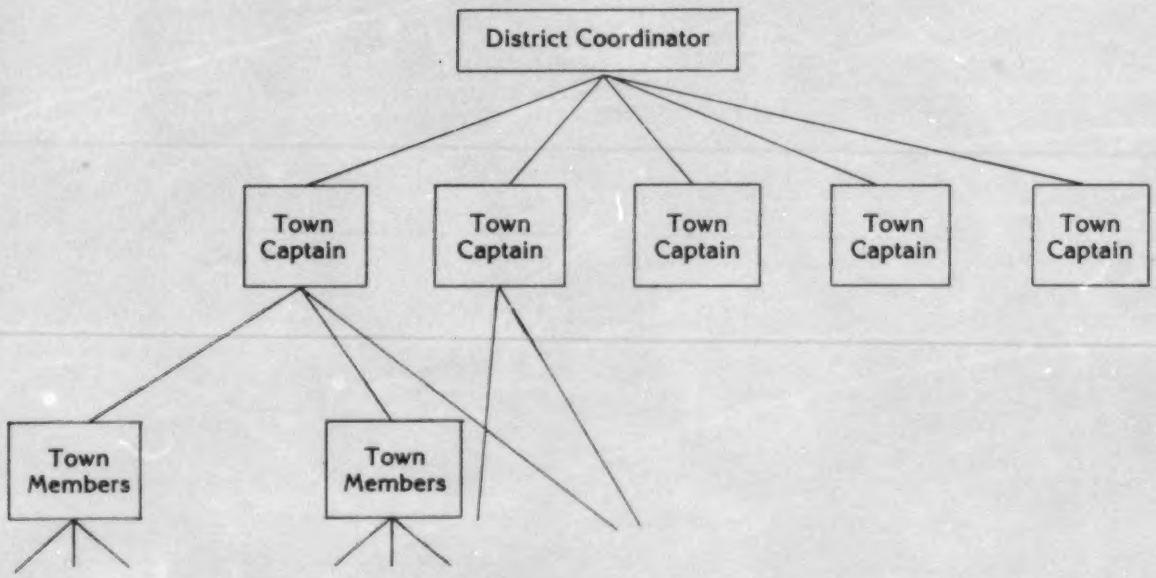
Other techniques that are used in grass roots lobbying efforts include the use of a "key person system," and telephone networks.

The **"key person system"** is a method whereby one member of an organization is assigned the local lobbying responsibility for her or his legislator. When a call to action is sounded, the key persons contact their local legislators to inform them of their group's position, and to ask for their support. If used effectively, this system is designed to insure that no legislator is overlooked. Once an individual legislator's position has been determined, the key persons are instructed to report the information back to the organization's lobbyist for follow-up contacts.

An operating **telephone network** organized by district can be a very influential lobbying mechanism. Telephone networks serve the purpose of communicating information rapidly to a group's membership in time for them to act. Once a network is activated by a call to action, the members are expected to lobby their respective public officials by mail, telegram, or telephone.

If a telephone network operates effectively, it can produce an enormous amount of mail on a particular issue in a very short period of time. But maintaining such a network is not an easy task, particularly if the organization has only a limited legislative agenda and does not have the need to use this system frequently. A network must be ready for action at all times, and it should be able to feed back information to district and state leaders. For best results, it should be utilized on a regular basis.

Model Telephone Network
Congressional or Legislative District



Each network, of course, must be tailored to the organization using its political goals and its members.

Coalition Building

Many organizations take positions on various issues and lobby actively in support of their positions. However, unless an issue is clearly a priority item, most organizations will not take a specific position without being requested to do so. Most organizations will only take a position on a particular issue after the representative leadership and/or the membership as a whole is polled. With these facts in mind, it makes sense to develop broad-based outside support for a particular issue by organizing an informal or a formal coalition to back a particular bill.

Some potential allies are easily identifiable and will be happy to join in a mutual effort on a specific bill. They should be contacted immediately. The next step is to reach out to less obvious groups for support.

Coalitions can be formal or informal. A **formal coalition** is based on an agreement among several groups to work together for a common goal. All decisions are reached through a consensus of the groups involved. Often this type of coalition will have its own officers, a separate name, and even stationery with a special letterhead. An **informal coalition** on the other hand, is merely a network of individuals and associations who agree to support each other on a particular issue for their own individual reasons. They generally keep in contact with one another to share information and divide lobbying responsibilities.

There are several reasons for forming coalitions. They include multiplying potential contacts in the legislature and multiplying the number of people planning a lobbying strategy. It is important to remember that different organizations have different reasons for supporting or opposing a bill. One of those reasons may be more influential with a particular legislator than another. The more people there are to contact legislators, the more effective that lobbying effort becomes. In addition, there are more people to keep track of what is happening. Finally, if each group in the coalition is a membership organization, there are more constituents available for a grass roots campaign.

In organizing any coalition, it is crucial to include individuals from both political parties who have contacts and are knowledgeable about the political process.[8]

Understanding and Utilizing the Media

A critical component of every lobbying effort is the coverage of the issue by television, radio, and the press. An effective press strategy can sway public opinion and produce more votes favorable for the lobbyist's position.

Media exposure can be very helpful in explaining an issue and the lobbyist's position to the public. Some issues attract their own coverage. For other issues, reasons must be created to capture media attention. A press strategy must be developed in conjunction with a lobbying strategy and must fit the tactics being used. Certainly, if media attention is going to create adverse public opinion, it should not be included in a lobbyist's strategy.

A media campaign should be carefully timed to grow in intensity and to peak when the issue is before the legislature. Following are some helpful hints:

- Lobbyists should learn the names of reporters covering their issues on all newspapers, radio, and television stations in the state. Keep track of their deadlines and the best time and place to contact them.
- Reporters should receive a press packet. It should include: a press release; a list of spokespersons, and where they can be reached; a fact sheet on the issue, with its history, status, content, statistics, etc.
- The proper format for press releases should be followed. (See sample.)
- Press conferences should be held only on the occasion of important or newsworthy events such as the distribution of significant information, or a bill's passage in one house of the legislature, or prior to a key vote in the legislative process. Some procedures to follow when holding a press conference include:

1. **Send out announcements a week prior to the conference if possible, indicating the subject matter to be covered and who will speak, as well as the time and place. Notification that prominent people will attend the conference is likely to encourage coverage. A follow-up phone call to remind the media of your press conference is helpful.**
2. **Keep the information concise, factual, and provocative.**
3. **Hold press conferences in a central location during the morning between 10:30 and 11:30 a.m., preferably at or near the State House.**
4. **Prepare and distribute a press kit including a press release, speaker's remarks, copies of the bill, and other relevant information.**
5. **Keep the conference short and allow time for questions.**

- Media coverage of public hearings can be crucial. A reminder of the time, place, and other factual details is helpful. On the day of the hearing, advocates should arrive early, arrange press interviews for their key witnesses, and distribute press kits containing copies of testimony, a status report on legislation, a press release on the hearing, and any other pertinent information.
- The press should be invited to all public events.
- Radio spots should be developed for use on public service time.
- Facts should never be exaggerated or distorted. It is essential to establish credibility with representatives of the press, and never to compromise their trust.
- For many statewide interest groups, a press chairperson can be appointed in every county or legislative district to be responsible for local contact with the media, especially weekly newspapers and local radio stations. Local media must be provided with a local angle for a story. Very often, the involvement of a local resident is sufficient.[9]

Remember, do not be afraid of the press. Reporters and editors seek reliable news sources. The opportunities for news coverage are endless, but much depends on a lobbyist's personal rapport with various editors and reporters. Following are some suggestions for newspaper stories and the appropriate persons to contact:

1. **Hard News:** For day-to-day news, comments, reactions, and press releases, contact the city editor. Get to know the city editor. It is she/he who assigns stories to reporters. If you have been working with a particular political reporter, be sure that both the reporter and the city editor receive copies of your releases.
2. **Feature Stories:** Many large papers have feature editors who concentrate on local personal-interest stories. Some interesting feature stories might develop from interesting personalities in your organization.
3. **Editorials:** Meet the editorial page editor and inquire about the paper's editorial positions on your issue.
4. **Letters to the Editor:** The key to getting these letters printed is to keep them short, accurate, and to the point. These letters have high readership and are a good way to refute or support the paper's position on your issue. Letters to the editor are a good vehicle for membership participation and constituent pressure.
5. **Non-Issue Stories:** Don't wait until the day of the event and hope for coverage. Begin early. Potentially, there is coverage (1) before the event, announcing it will happen, (2) during the event, describing what happened and (3) after the event, summarizing and analyzing what it all means.

What's News?

News is information about events or situations which affect people. It should be explained accurately, concisely, and objectively.

There are several ways you can break into the news:

If you are planning a public event, try to sell two stories to the press: an advance announcing the event, and the actual coverage of what happened. Except for weeklies, papers are seldom interested in a story you write covering your event. That is old news unless you deliver the story immediately after the event occurs. It is better to concentrate on the advance and to urge the editor or reporter to cover it.

News can be created by releasing a statement by a spokesperson on a timely issue, or the results of a poll or study, or an interview with your legislator. If you establish yourself as a regular and reliable source of news and/or quotes, you may be solicited for comment by the press.

Local names are always news. When a local member does something impressive, be sure to let your local papers know. Get first and last names right, with correct street addresses. Your release must be accurate or you will quickly lose your credibility with the press. Provide glossy photos whenever you can.

Remember, what may be routine to you can hold great interest for someone else — a meeting with a member of the legislature, lobbying for a particular bill, testifying on a bill, urging support or defeat for a specific issue.

Writing a Press Release

1. Begin with a good headline — it may help sell your story.
2. Five questions should be answered in the first and second sentences (the lead). Who? What? When? Where? Why? The headline is just an abbreviated version of the first paragraph.
3. The succeeding paragraphs are of declining importance. This structure permits an editor to cut the story from the bottom if space is tight without losing an important element of the story. Also, you must catch an editor's eye and interest quickly with the most important points first.
4. Write short sentences and short paragraphs. Two sentences make a good paragraph.
5. Give exact dates of events. Use "Monday, October 1," rather than next Monday or tomorrow. Check all days and dates on a calendar.
6. Give the address as well as the name of the meeting place.
7. Give town of residence of all people mentioned.
8. Spell out all numbers from one to nine; use numerals for 10 and above. Do not begin a sentence with numerals.
9. Check all names for accuracy and spelling. The first mention of a name is Jane T. Jones, of Waterbury and the second is Jones.
10. Never editorialize in a news release. If you must include opinions, attribute them to someone.

Format of a News Release

The first rule of thumb is: be brief, concise, and to the point.

Releases are always typed and double-spaced

Headlines are always in all capital letters and double-spaced

Leave generous margins on both sides, top and bottom.

Use 8½ x 11 plain white paper

Keep a copy of every release you issue.

Give this information in upper left-hand corner of page one:

Name of your organization
Your name
Your address
Your city, state, zip code
Your phone number (include area code)
(also someone else's name/phone number in case you are not home)[10]

new jersey coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment

Release Date — FOR RELEASE Sunday, December 12, 1976

Contact — For further information:
Nancy Becker
609-924-3426

Dateline — Who

TRENTON. Rep. Helen Meyner, Member of Congress from the 13th District in New Jersey, and Willard Heckel, former Dean of Rutgers Law School, this week added their voices to those of the 17 organizations who make up the N.J. Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment, in urging defeat of a move to rescind New Jersey's ratification of the E.R.A.

What — Where — When

The New Jersey Senate has scheduled a vote on rescission for tomorrow (Monday, Dec. 13). The vote, if successful would repeal the ratification of the Amendment that was approved in 1972, unanimously by the N.J.Senate, and by a vote of 62 - 4 by the Assembly.

Why

"Legislatures must act with foresight and courage," said Rep. Meyner in her statement to the N.J.Coalition. "In 1972, the N.J.Legislature did. Unjustified fear should not diminish this great act."

She referred to "the false spectre of women losing their femininity, common locker rooms, and unisex toilets" as the basis of the popular support for the anti-ERA sentiment.

Heckel, a recognized expert on the Constitution, pointed out in a statement to a representative of the N.J.Coalition that contrary to a commonly-held view, discrimination based on sex is not unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment. "Therefore we need an Equal Rights Amendment to the

(more)

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Constitution," he said. "The ERA does not say there are no differences between the sexes," he added. "It simply makes all discrimination based on sex unconstitutional."

The Federal Equal Rights Amendment was passed by the House of Representatives, 354 - 23, on October 12, 1971, and by the U.S.Senate, 84 - 8, on March 22, 1972. In order to make the Amendment a part of the U.S.Constitution, 38 states must ratify it by March 22, 1979. So far, 34 states have done so.

There is considerable doubt in the legal community whether any of these states, including New Jersey, has the power to rescind a previous ratification. The Counsel to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Judiciary Committee has written: "It is my legal opinion...that once a State has exercised its only power under Article V of the U. S. Constitution, and ratified an Amendment thereto, it has exhausted such power, and that any attempt subsequently to rescind such ratification is null and void."

A historical precedent also exists that casts doubt on the power of the Legislature to rescind. In 1868, the Legislatures of New Jersey and Ohio rescinded their previous ratifications of the 14th Amendment. Congress declined to recognize these rescissions and the two states were listed as having ratified the Amendment.

"Both houses of the N.J. Legislature have given their unqualified support for the ERA since 1972," said Nancy Becker, coordinator for the Coalition. "We urge them to uphold this splendid commitment to equal rights for all people."

xxxx

Litigation as a Lobbying Tool

Litigation can be a very powerful lobbying tool. It can be used to call attention to an issue, to force a solution to a problem, or to enforce a law. However, it is often a difficult, lengthy, and costly process. It requires parties with definite and specific grievances and skillful attorneys. Finally, the results of any court action are uncertain, at best.

An example of litigation used **to force an issue** is the well-known *Robinson* v. *Cahill* case which was filed in state court to highlight the inequities of funding public schools through local property taxes. As a result of the court's decision in this case, New Jersey was forced to develop a more equitable and broad-based system of funding public education. Another example of this type of litigation was the famous case of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1954, which ruled that separate but equal educational facilities were inherently inequitable and unconstitutional. This decision forced the states to end the practice of racial segregation in the public school system. But *Brown* v. *Board of Education* is an example of a case in which a single decision proved to be inadequate in mandating the significant change that was needed. Supreme Court decisions do not automatically guarantee immediate implementation across the nation. Subsequent suits filed by specific school districts enveloped the Court in desegregation cases for more than a decade following the historic 1954 ruling.

It is also possible **to enforce a law** through litigation. For example, in the spring of 1977 New Jersey Common Cause filed suit in Superior Court, Appelate Division, against the Election Law Enforcement Commission because of a ruling the commission promulgated regarding the limitation of campaign contributions donated after the primary election to pay off primary debts. The commission ruled that campaign contributions collected after the primary that were to be used to pay off the primary debt were not subject to the $600 limit on individual contributions that went into effect for the general election. Common Cause contended that any money raised after the primary, whether it was to be utilized to repay primary debts or to fund the general election campaign, was subject to the $600 limitation. The court ruled in favor of Common Cause and against the commission.

In another case, three environmental groups represented by the Public Advocate have recently joined together to sue the Department of Environmental Protection to enforce the Coastal Area Facilities Review Act with regard to the siting of sewer interceptors in the coastal zone.

Litigation can also be used to request a court **to interpret an unclear statute,** particularly when the intent of a law is uncertain. For example, the Municipal Land Use statute which became law in 1975 contained a different provision regarding open meeting requirements for zoning boards of adjustment and planning boards than the previously enacted Open Meetings Law. A suit entitled *Accardi* v. *Mayor and Council of the City of North Wildwood* was filed in Superior Court, Law Division, Cape May County, in 1976. The court ruled that in this case the Open Meetings Law took precedence over the Municipal Land Use Law because the primary intent of the former was to cover such quasi-judicial bodies as zoning and planning boards.

Litigation can be a very effective lobbying tool, but it must be utilized with skill and caution. This route is an expensive and time-consuming one which demands legal expertise.

Rules and Regulations

Once a bill becomes law, a lobbyist's responsibilities must continue into the implementation and enforcement phase. Unfortunately, many lobbyists, like many legislators, do not care what happens to a law after it has been passed. Only the skillful lobbyist realizes that her role at this point in the process is often equally important, and sometimes more important than it has been during the earlier legislative stages. Enforcement and implementation of a particular law are critical to its effectiveness.

Consequently, it is essential to ensure that any rules and regulations promulgated to implement a law are consistent with its legislative intent.

Rulemaking authority is delegated by the legislature to various administrative agencies for two basic reasons:

1. It relieves the legislature from the burdensome task of developing detailed, complicated, and technical provisions within a particular bill; and,

2. It enables the administrative agency to be flexible in managing a particular program.

The Administrative Procedure Act adopted in 1969 was created to provide certain minimal safeguards against arbitrary and hasty rule-making, and to permit interested parties to have the opportunity to participate in this process.[11]

The act provides that notices of proposed rules must be published in the *New Jersey Register*, and that twenty days prior notice must be given before the adoption of a rule. This notice requirement is met through publication in the register. The act does not require each agency to hold a hearing before adopting a particular rule, but in fact, many agencies do hold public hearings.

According to a recent report entitled *Eye on the Executive*, published by the New Jersey General Assembly's Legislative Oversight Committee, most departments are in rigorous compliance with the minimal requirements of the Administrative Procedures Act. Some departments even go beyond what is required and reach out for those parties who might have an interest in a particular issue. In a few cases, contact is made with interested parties prior to the formal proposal of a rule.

Unfortunately, what complicates a lobbyist's task at this stage of the process is the fact that no uniform procedures are utilized by the executive branch agencies in promulgating rules and regulations, thus permitting each agency to develop its own rule-making procedures. Invevitably, these procedures vary from department to department. Variations also exist because of the differing sizes of the agencies, the types of issues, and the size and nature of the outside constituencies. Confusion abounds!

Though no official record has been compiled by the Division of Administrative Procedure, according to the Oversight Committee, eighty-two departments, divisions, commissions, boards, agencies, councils, authorities, and bureaus have rule-making powers. (See **State Agencies Identified As Having Rule-Making Authority.**)

The "rules and regs" process is a relatively hidden and unknown area of government. Public comment on proposed rules is generally sparse, and is limited to those parties who are directly concerned with a particular rule. But there are lobbyists who are extremely influential in this phase of the process. They tend to be highly skilled experts who are well-funded and knowledgeable about how to play an insider's game. They help to shape rules and regulations by providing research and background material to appropriate executive branch officials *before* a rule is promulgated. In addition, they are adept at marshalling support or opposition at those public hearings where rules and regulations are considered.

State Agencies Identified As Having Rule-Making Authority
(Unofficial Listing)

Department of Agriculture
- State Board of Agriculture
- State Soil Commission
- Division of Dairy Industry

Department of Banking
- Office of the Commissioner
- New Jersey Cemetery Board

Department of Civil Service
- Civil Service Commission

Department of Community Affairs
- Office of the Commissioner
- Local Finance Board
- Hackensack Meadowlands Development Commission
- New Jersey Housing Finance Agency

Department of Corrections
- Office of the Commissioner

Department of Education
- State Board of Education

Department of Energy
- Office of the Commissioner
- Board of Public Utilities
- Division of Energy Planning and Conservation

Department of Environmental Protection
- Office of the Commissioner
- Boat Regulation Commission
- Fish and Game Council
- Shell Fisheries Council
- Radiation Council

Department of Health
- Office of the Commissioner
- Public Health Council
- Health Care Administration Board

Department of Higher Education
- Board of Higher Education
- Higher Education Assistance Authority
- State Scholarship Commission
- Educational Opportunity Fund
- Educational Facilities Authority

Department of Human Services
- Office of the Commissioner
- Division of Youth and Family Services

Department of Insurance
- Office of the Commissioner
- Real Estate Commission

Department of Labor and Industry
- Office of the Commissioner
- New Jersey Area Redevelopment Authority
- New Jersey Economic Development Authority
- New Jersey State Board of Mediation
- New Jersey Public Employment Relations Commission
- South Jersey Port Corporation
- Division of Workers' Compensation
- Division of Workplace Standards

Department of Law and Public Safety
- Office of the Attorney General
- Division of Alcoholic Beverage Control
- Division on Civil Rights
- Division of Consumer Affairs
- Division of Motor Vehicles
- Division of New Jersey Racing Commission
- State Athletic Commission
- Police Training Commission
- Legalized Games of Chance Control Commission
- Violent Crimes Compensation Board
- Election Law Enforcement Commission
- Bureau of Securities

Office of Weights and Measures
Board of Architects
Board of Beauty Culture Control
Board of Certified Public Accountants

Board of Dentistry
Board of Examiners of Electrical Contractors
Board of Professional Engineers
and Land Surveyors
Board of Marriage Counselor Examiners

Board of Medical Examiners
Board of Mortuary Science
Board of Nursing
Board of Ophthalmic Dispensers
and Ophthalmic Technicians

Board of Optometrists
Board of Pharmacy
Board of Master Plumbers
Board of Professional Planners

Board of Psychological Examiners
Board of Shorthand Reporting
Board of Veterinary Medical Examiners

Department of State
Secretary of State

Department of Transportation
Office of the Commissioner
New Jersey Expressway Authority
New Jersey Highway Authority
New Jersey Turnpike Authority

Department of the Treasury
State Treasurer
Division of Building and Construction
Division of Tax Appeals
Division of Taxation
Division of the State Lottery
Casino Control Commission[12]

Tools of the Trade

Armed with intelligence, information, charm, patience, a sense of humor, comfortable shoes, and support stockings, what else is needed to be an effective lobbyist? Factual and timely information about the legislation you are involved with as well as an accurate schedule of committee meetings and general legislative sessions is essential.

But there are additional critical resources available to help a lobbyist plan and execute an effective lobbying campaign. Some of the following information and material can be obtained from Legislative Information, located in the State House, or organizations such as the League of Women Voters and Common Cause:

Where and when the legislature meets.

A copy of the session calendar, including meetings of both houses, committee hearings and bill assignments, recesses, and adjournments.

A directory which includes such information as a legislator's name, district, party affiliation and committee assignments, as well as the address of her or his district office.

Maps of legislative districts, a book of telephone numbers and addresses of key people in state government.

In New Jersey, if you need a copy of a bill which has been introduced in either house, simply contact the Legislative Bill Room in the State House or the bill room located in the basement of the State Library. The address and phone number are given below. The service is free and usually prompt. It is important to know the number of the bill you wish to obtain. If you only know the subject matter, the Bill Room may not be able to complete the request, because there are often many bills introduced in each session with similar subject matters.

Legislative Bill Room
Room 117
State House
Trenton, N.J. 08625
800/792-8630

Bill Room
State Library
State Street
Trenton, N.J. 08625
609/292-6220

A complete set of bills and resolutions introduced in the legislature will be mailed to anyone requesting it for approximately $75 per year. An order blank for this service can be obtained from:

Law and Commissions Section
Department of State
Room 101
State House
Trenton, N.J. 08625

Four days prior to each meeting of the senate or the assembly, a "board list" consisting of bills to be voted upon at the next meeting is prepared for the legislators in each respective house. This information is available to the public and can be obtained at the offices of the secretary of the senate, the secretary to the executive director of the assembly, or legislative information (which is located at the State House in the Bill Room). Changes in these lists are possible at any time. But they are the best means of determining which bills are to be considered at a particular meeting. Committee agendas are also available through Legislative Information.

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Listed below are legislative resources in New Jersey with a description of each, and information about where they can be obtained:

1. The Legislative Index, published by The Legislative Index of New Jersey Inc., P.O. Box 236, Somerville, New Jersey 08876, gives brief descriptions and an account of the status of all bills and resolutions. It also provides an indexed list of bills and resolutions by subject and sponsor. It is updated regularly during the year as the legislature meets.

The Index provides ready access to the cumulative actions of the legislature and the governor on all bills and resolutions. Its system of indexing is most helpful in any investigation of legislation sponsored by a particular legislator or concerning a particular subject. (Price: $125 per year).

2. The New Jersey Legislative News provides next-day reports on action taken by the legislature, including votes by either the senate or the assembly, bills reported by the various committees, schedules of public hearings, names of gubernatorial appointees, a list of reports received from the departments and agencies of the state government, and the time and date of the next meeting of both houses. Because of its availability on the day following any legislative action, the **Legislative News** is an invaluable tool permitting identification of the status of bills at all times. **Legislative News** is located at P.O. Box 412, Trenton, New Jersey 08603. (Price: $50 per year).

3. Map of New Jersey. The Legislative Services office (located in the State House across the hall from the Senate Chamber) sells large maps of New Jersey which are divided into congressional districts. It is possible to further sub-divide these districts into legislative districts. A map such as this one is handy when planning a grass roots campaign on a particular bill. (Price: Map, $1).

4. Fitzgerald's New Jersey Legislative Manual. This 1,000 page manual is published annually and is packed with interesting and useful information for lobbyists and legislators alike. It includes, among other items, a copy of both the United States and New Jersey Constitutions, rules of both houses of the legislature, biographies of all congresspersons, legislators, cabinet officers,and judges. In addition it provides lists of legislative correspondents and registered lobbyists. Among other items it includes voting data and demographic information for the state. The manual can be ordered from Edward J. Mullen, Editor and Publisher, P.O. Box 2150, Trenton, New Jersey 08608. (Price: $9.45).

5. New Jersey Register. The **Register** is a monthly publication of proposed and enacted rules and regulations promulgated by the various departments and divisions of state government. It provides invaluable information regarding the implementation and enforcement of laws that have been enacted in the state. It is published by the state during the first week of each month, and can be ordered from the Division of Administrative Procedure of the Department of State, 10 North Stockton Street, Trenton, New Jersey 08608. (Price: $12 per year).

6. Legislative District Data Book. Published for the first time in 1976, this annually updated volume was designed to provide detailed statistical and directory information on the state's forty legislative districts. It provides a lobbyist with the names of all municipalities within a district, in addition to providing the names and addresses of all local officials within each district. The demographic information included, enables a lobbyist to have a comprehensive understanding of what factors affect legislative behavior on particular issues. The **Data Book** is available from The Bureau of Government Research, Rutgers, The State University, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901. (Price: $10).

7. Telephone Directory: State of New Jersey. A comprehensive telephone listing of all state departments and divisions plus an alphabetical listing of all state employees. Available, while they last, from the Secretary of State's Office.

8. Rules of the General Assembly
Rules of the Senate. A soft cover pocket edition of the current rules of each house with the legislative code of ethics. This compact volume is available from Legislative Services at no cost.

9. Lobbyist Directory. A quarterly directory compiled from lobby reports in the Attorney General's Office. Although this directory used to be published on a quarterly basis and was easily available to anyone who wanted a copy, it is currently available for use only in the State Library. The Attorney General's Office seems to have stopped compiling and disseminating this information on a widespread basis.

10. Directory of New Jersey Newspapers and Periodicals. This directory is published annually and contains the most complete list of New Jersey newspapers available. It includes listings of daily and Sunday newspapers in addition to weeklies listed by county. Periodicals, college newspapers, and wire services are also listed. This directory is available from New Jersey Clipping Service, 99 E. Northfield Avenue, Livingston, New Jersey 07039. (Price $17 for the 1977 edition).

11. Campaign Finance Reports. Disclosure reports of contributors to each legislative and gubernatorial candidate are available for inspection and/or duplication at the Election Law Enforcement Commission, 28 West State Street (11th floor), Trenton, New Jersey 08608. Similar reports which cover all New Jersey congressional candidates are available for inspection at the Secretary of State's Office, State House, Trenton, New Jersey. It is important for a lobbyist to gather as much information as possible about a particular legislator or congressperson. Campaign contributions are most often given by special interest groups seeking to influence the passage or defeat of legislation. These contributions rarely "buy" votes, but they do make access to legislators easier.

12. The 1978 New Jersey Political Almanac. This new publication contains complete descriptions of the forty Legislative Districts, reports and analyses of the 1977 senate and assembly campaigns, profiles of the winning candidates, vote totals and comparisons. Published by the Center for the Analysis of Public Issues, Princeton, New Jersey. It costs $3.

13. Legislative Roundup, published by the League of Women Voters, offers comprehensive analyses of legislative activities. It costs $5.25 per year for ten issues.

The following additional sources of information may be able to supply information concerning comparable experiences in other states.

- State libraries, which have clipping files, legal records, bill rooms, and copies of current legislation.
- National Conference of State Legislatures, 1405 Curtis Street, Denver, Colorado 80202 — A membership organization for legislatures around the nation, offering seminars and conferences on legislative policy and administration.
- Council of State Government, P.O. Box 11910, Lexington, Kentucky 40511; 606/252-2291 — An extension of the state governments themselves, working to improve governmental practices, promote inter-state cooperation, and facilitate federal-state relations.
- Congressional Clearinghouse on Women's Rights, 722 House Annex Bldg., No. 1, Washington, D.C. 20515 — A weekly information service and bibliographic service on issues concerning women's rights around the nation.
- Women's Washington Report (formerly Women's Washington Representative) 324 C Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 — A women's legislative service.
- Women's Lobby, 1345 G Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003; 202/547-0082 — Incorporated in 1972 as an official lobby working to convince legislators to respond more fully and actively to the need for congressional action on legislation which affects women.

Glossary of Most Frequently Used Terms

Act
An act is a bill which has become a law or statute. Laws are referred to as P.L. 1974, c,3. This means the third Public Law of 1974.

Amendments and Substitutes
A bill or resolution may be changed during its consideration by means of adopting **amendments** to it. Proposed amendments must be written or typed, and adoption of an amendment on the floor is by motion passed in the house in which the amendment is proposed. When a reference committee reports a bill with committee amendments (abbreviated SCA* and ACA** in notation concerning the bill after amendment by a committee), the amendments are read and must be adopted on motion to become a part of the bill. All adopted amendments are printed.

A bill or resolution may be entirely rewritten and replaced by a **Substitute.** A committee may report a bill or bills by Committee Substitute; this new bill may have substantially different provisions from the original bill, but is related to the same subject. Such a bill is called a Senate or Assembly Committee Substitute.

Bill
A bill is a proposed law. Upon introduction, every bill is assigned a number which is prefixed with an "A" or "S." The "A" means that the bill has been introduced in the assembly, while the "S" signifies that the bill has been introduced in the senate. In order to become law, every bill must pass by a majority in both houses of the legislature and be signed by the governor.

Committees
Legislative committees are separated into two groups: standing reference committees, to which most legislation is referred for consideration (see Understanding the Legislative Process), and administrative committees, which handle ethical standards, law revision and legislative service, plus many other housekeeping tasks.

Leadership
A. **Senate President and Assembly Speaker:** These individuals are presiding officers of their respective houses and elected by the members of each house. Their duties, which are spelled out in the rules of each house, include presiding at each session; appointing the chairpersons and all members of both standing reference and other legislative committees; referring all bills and resolutions to committee; preparing the legislative calendar, etc. Neither the president nor speaker participates in debate on any legislative proposal while presiding.

B. **Majority and Minority Leaders:** These individuals are party leaders whose powers are not described in the constitution or the rules of their respective houses. They act as spokespersons for their party, and preside at their respective party conferences.

C. **President Pro Tem and Speaker Pro Tem:** Both individuals serve in the absence of their respective legislative leader, and during the time each presiding officer participates in floor debate.

Motions
A motion is the parliamentary procedure for action by a house of a legislature. Most legislative motions do not require that they be seconded. Except where otherwise specifically required by rule, a majority of those members voting on a motion, a quorum being present, is sufficient to adopt or reject the motion.

Precedence of various types of motions is prescribed in the rules.

Party Conference (formerly called **Party Caucus**)
These are closed party meetings which are organized by custom rather than by rule. Conferences are usually called to discuss party business and party strategies. Often they are used to discuss legislation before it is debated on the floor of either house.

*Senate Committee Amendments
**Assembly Committee Amendments

Pre-filing of Legislative Proposals

Pursuant to Joint Rules of the Senate and General Assembly in New Jersey, any member or member-elect of the senate or general assembly may, between November 15 and the first Tuesday in January, pre-file a bill, joint or concurrent resolution for introduction in the session to convene on the second Tuesday in January by forwarding the introduction copies to the Legislative Services Agency.

They will be numbered, printed, and distributed as in the case of bills introduced during a session.

Pre-filed bills are entitled to and do receive formal introduction at the opening meeting or at the next succeeding meeting at which time announcement is made of the committee to which each shall have been referred by the president or speaker.

Bills for which drafting requests are received are pre-filed only after the sponsor has approved a draft for pre-filing.

The purpose of the pre-filing scheme is to make bills in printed form available to all members and others for study in advance of a session and to reference committees at the earliest possible time, to ease the printing process and, hopefully, to smooth out the workload of the Legislative Services Agency in its research, drafting, and examination of bills. As of 1977, however, assembly members are limited to pre-filing only fifteen bills.

Resolutions

Senate and General Assembly Resolutions: A senate or assembly resolution is a formal resolution by one house expressing the policy or opinion of the house adopting it.

Joint Resolutions: A joint resolution is a formal resolution separately adopted by both houses of the legislature. To become effective it must be approved by the governor. A joint resolution has the effect of law. Therefore, its enactment requires the same formality and procedure as is required for enactment of a bill. A joint resolution is used in lieu of a bill where the enactment is temporary or for a limited time period. It can also be used for initiating a study or making a memorialization in which the governor as well as the legislature is to participate. Counsel to the governor has taken the position that funds may be appropriated only by a bill enacted into law. Therefore, an appropriation may not be included in a joint resolution. These resolutions are designated with the prefix "AJR" or "SJR" before the bill number.

Concurrent Resolutions: A concurrent resolution is a formal resolution separately adopted by both houses of the legislature. In addition to memorials, commendations, and legislative organizational matters, concurrent resolutions are used to establish special study commissions and committees where the membership thereof is to be composed entirely of members of the legislature or members and non-members appointed by the legislature or its presiding officers. The effectiveness of a concurrent resolution expires at the end of the second legislative year of the legislature by which it was adopted. A commission created by concurrent resolution may, however, file a report thereafter.

Except when a roll call is demanded or, as hereinafter mentioned in connection with proposed amendments to the constitution, a concurrent resolution may be adopted by voice vote.

These resolutions are designated with the prefix "ACR" or "SCR" before the bill number.

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution: A concurrent resolution is also the form used for proposing amendments to New Jersey's State Constitution. While proposals to amend the constitution do not require submission to the governor prior to submission to the people, the constitution and the rules prescribe a particular procedure for their consideration and action by the legislature, which must be followed precisely. A roll call vote with prescribed majorities is required to adopt such concurrent resolutions.

Rules of the Senate and Assembly
Each house, according to the constitution, adopts its own rules to govern its respective organization, the behavior of its members, etc.

Senate Journal and Assembly Minutes
The daily proceedings and actions of each house of the legislature are recorded respectively in the **Senate Journal** and **The Minutes of the General Assembly.** These records are published periodically and are bound and kept in the library for every legislative session. The minutes and journal contain all notes taken in addition to all other legislative action. However, they do not contain a record of floor debate.

Statements
A statement is a narrative, which, according to the rules of both the senate and the assembly, must be appended to a bill or resolution to outline the purpose of the proposal. These statements are a most convenient means of informing members, the press, and others of the reasons for the bill or resolution. While courts hold that a bill must be constructed "within its four corners," contents of a statement are often informative.

A statement may also explain where two or more bills are related or are companion measures.

Veto
Every bill that has passed both houses of the legislature must be signed by the governor in order to be enacted into law. The governor has several choices: to sign the bill into law; to veto it by returning it to the legislature with objections; or to refuse to sign it by procedural delays.

In order for a vetoed bill to become law, the legislature has two choices: it can reconsider the bill and accept the governor's objections which are in the form of amendments by a simple majority of each house; or it can over-ride the governor's veto, thereby repassing the bill in the same form it originally passed the legislature by a two-thirds vote in each house. To accomplish this difficult procedure fifty-four votes are required in the assembly, and twenty-seven votes in the senate.

Voting
Voice Votes: Except where a roll call vote is required by rule, ordered by the speaker, or demanded by any of the members present, a voice vote is sufficient to adopt or reject a motion.

A member must be present in the chamber to be recorded as voting for or against any motion. There is no provision for "paired votes" or for recording an absent member as voting for or against a motion. It is a criminal offense for any one other than the member to record a vote on an electric voting machine switch.

Roll Call Votes: The motion to pass each bill, joint resolution, or concurrent resolution proposing a constitutional amendment on its third reading requires a separate roll call vote and the recording of the ayes and nays. A vote by means of the electronic voting machine is the equivalent of a roll call. Aye votes of a majority of the total authorized membership of each house are required to pass a bill, joint resolution, or concurrent resolution proposing a constitutional amendment (twenty-one in the senate, forty-one in the general assembly). A vacancy or vacancies in the membership does not alter this requirement.

Special Roll Calls of More Than a Majority: To advance a bill or joint resolution from second to third reading without the intervention of one full calendar day requires, pursuant to the constitution, that the house by a three-quarters vote of its total

authorized membership (thirty in the senate, sixty in the general assembly) shall adopt a resolution stating that the bill or joint resolution is an emergency measure and that it proceed forthwith from second to third reading. A separate motion to move the bill may then be made and a majority roll call vote is sufficient to pass the measure, unless the bill is one regulating the internal affairs of a county or municipality submitted by petition pursuant to Article IV, Section VII, paragraph 10 of the constitution and P.L. 1948, c. 199 (c. I:6-10 et seq.) in which event a vote of two-thirds of the total authorized membership of each house (twenty-seven in the senate, fifty-four in the general assembly) is required.

To pass a bill over the governor's veto, a motion that the bill pass, the objections of the governor to the contrary notwithstanding, requires a vote of two-thirds of the total authorized membership of each house (twenty-seven in the senate, fifty-four in the general assembly).

To refer a proposed amendment to the constitution to the people for approval or rejection, the proposal must either pass each house in the year first voted upon by at least three-fifths of the total authorized membership (twenty-four in the senate, forty-eight in the general assembly), or pass both houses in two successive legislative years by a simple majority.[13]

Notes

1. William Edgar Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton* (Trenton, New Jersey: John L. Murphy, Printer, 1895), 1. pp. 52, 53, 198.
2. James Deakin, *The Lobbyists* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1966), p. 6.
3. League of Women Voters of New Jersey, *A Citizen's Guide to the New Jersey Legislature* (April 1977). Reprinted with permission.
4. Material adapted from *State of New Jersey Legislator's Handbook* (Trenton, New Jersey: Law Revision and Legislative Services Commission, 1973 & 1975), pp. 41-44.
5. Kenneth Norwick, *Lobbying for Freedom, A Citizen's Guide to Fighting Censorship at the State Level* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), p. 87.
6. California Commission on the Status of Women, *Successful Advocacy* (Sacramento, California, 1975), p. 5.
7. Parts of this section are adapted from *Successful Advocacy*, pp. 8-9.
8. For a description of coalition building see Dinah Stevens, "Influencing Legislative Bodies: Strategy and Tactics — An Outline," unpublished paper prepared for American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey, 1973.
9. Media material adapted from an unpublished preliminary report by Nora Lapin about a lobbying workshop conducted by the Center for the American Woman and Politics in spring 1977.
10. Material in this section adapted with permission from "Media," *Common Cause Action Manual* (Washington, D.C.: Common Cause, 1977), pp. 4-6.
11. See *Eye on the Executive:* A Report published by the New Jersey General Assembly, Legislative Oversight Committee, (Trenton, New Jersey, 1977),p. 37.
12. The unofficial listing of state agencies identified as having rule-making authority is taken from *Eye on the Executive:* A Report published by the New Jersey General Assembly, Legislative Oversight Committee, (Trenton, New Jersey, 1977), pp. 56-59.
13. This section of the handbook, listing and defining a glossary of terms, is adapted from *State of New Jersey Legislator's Handbook* (Trenton, New Jersey: Law Revision and Legislative Services Commission, 1973 and 1975), pp. 22-44.

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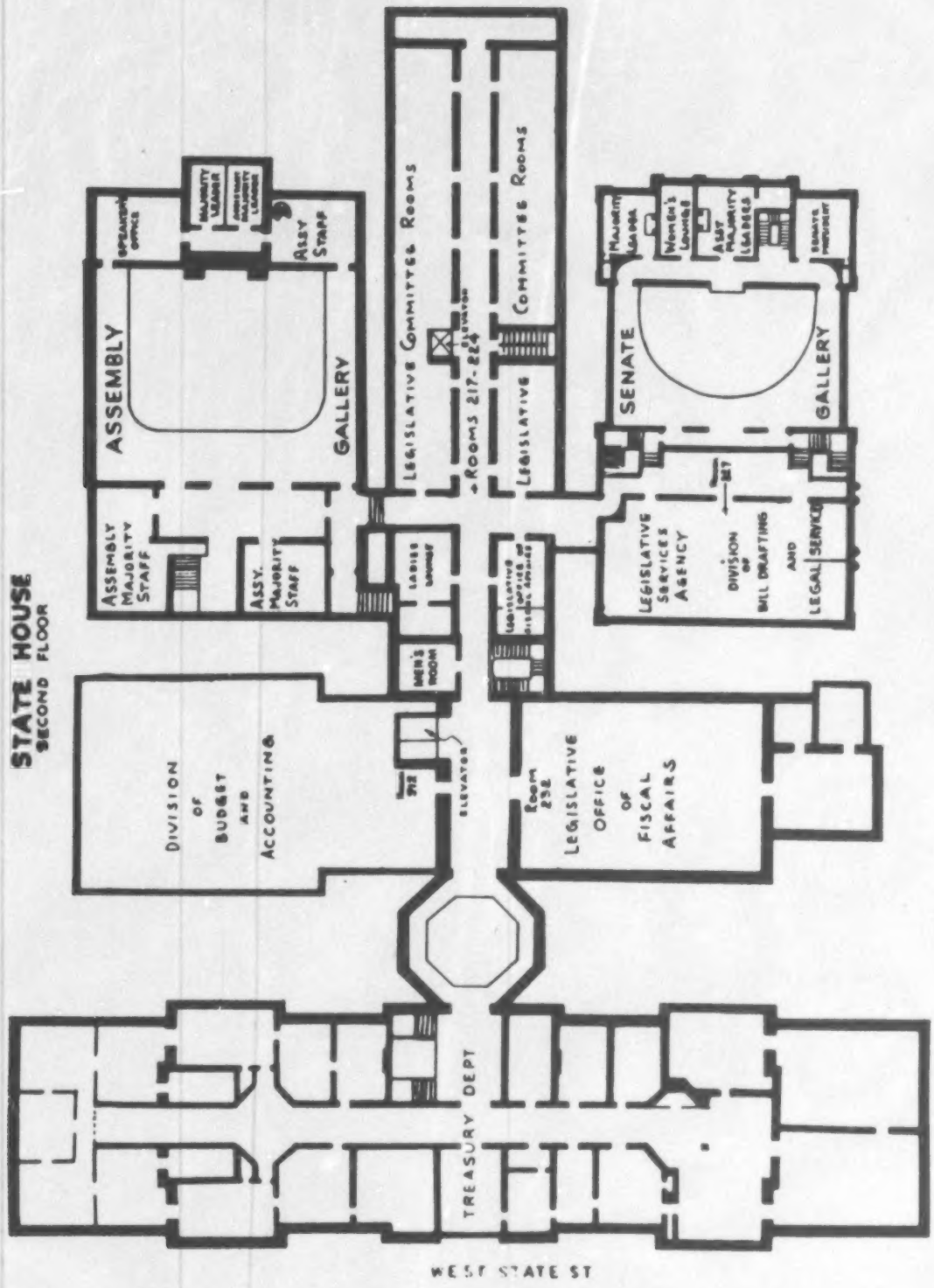

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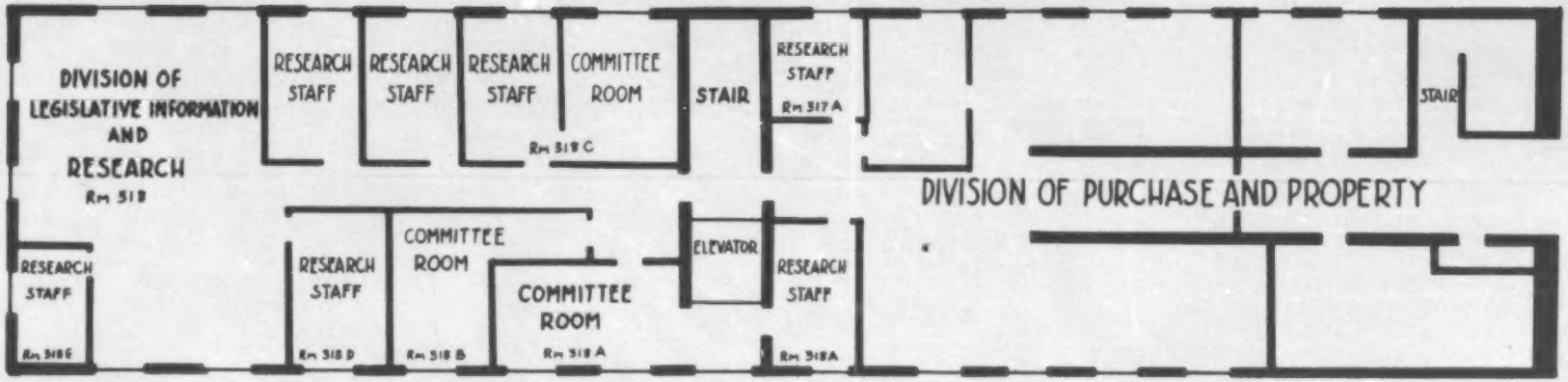

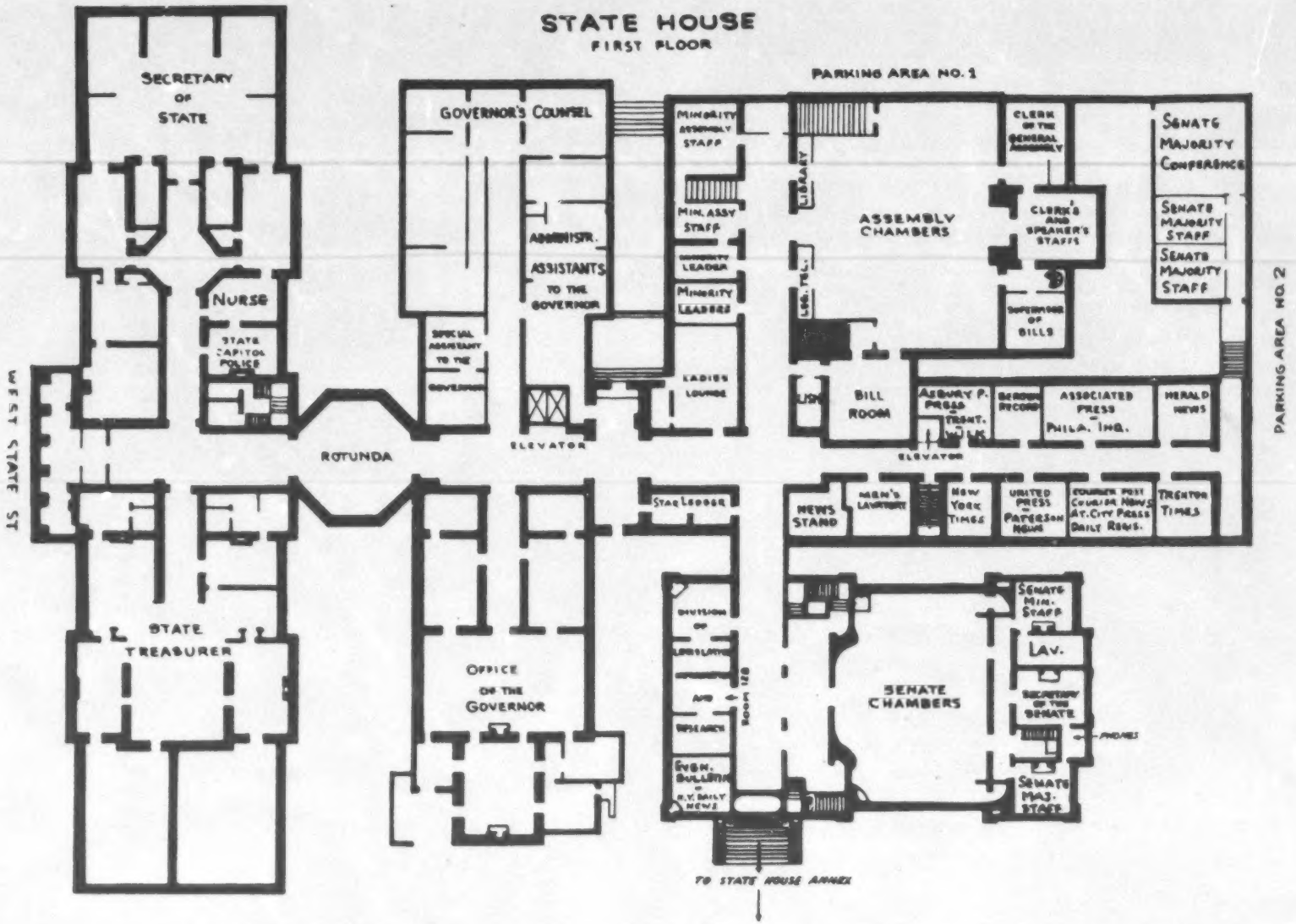
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SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE GOVERNOR
ADMINISTR. ASSISTANTS TO THE GOVERNOR
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MINORITY ASSEMBLY STAFF
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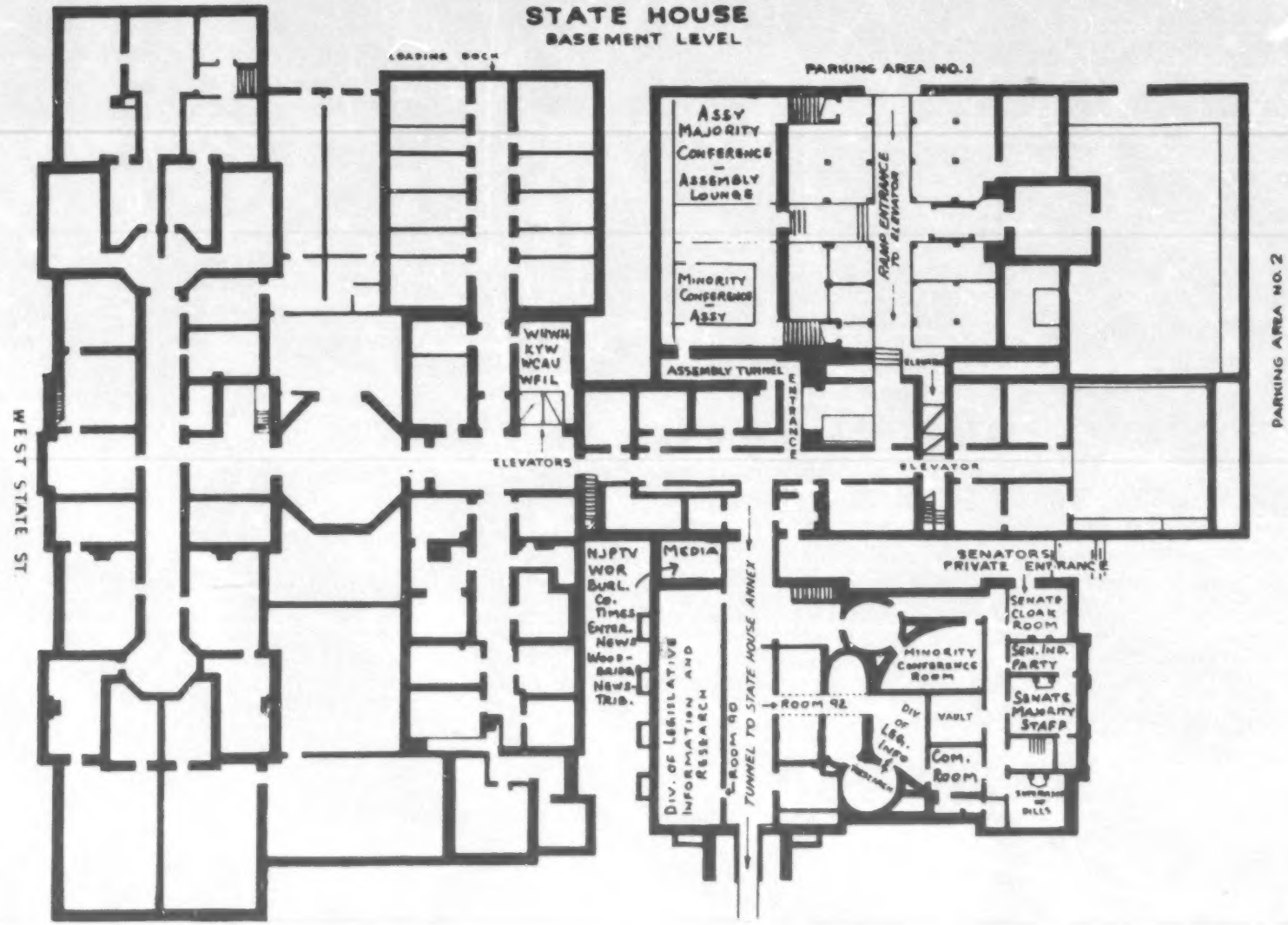
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NEW JERSEY LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS (1974—)

NEW JERSEY DIVISION ON WOMEN
New Jersey Department of Community Affairs
363 West State Street
Trenton, New Jersey 08625

The New Jersey Division on Women was created by state law in 1974. The same law created the New Jersey Advisory Commission on the Status of Women as an advisory body to the Division. New Jersey is one of the few states in the country which has a state agency dealing exclusively with the needs and concerns of women.

Located in the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs, the Division on Women serves as the central permanent state agency for the coordination and planning of programs and services to expand rights and opportunities for women. The Division also advises, assists, and cooperates with public agencies and organizations to eliminate discrimination against women and to otherwise improve the status of women of New Jersey.

Programs and activities of the Division cover many areas and issues, including but not limited to: battered women, rape, alcohol abuse, credit, employment, discrimination complaints, and affirmative action.

The Division on Women conducts studies; sponsors and cosponsors conferences, workshops,and seminars; monitors state and federal legislation; provides technical assistance; and serves as a clearinghouse to disseminate information, make referrals, and provide assistance to women with specific needs and problems. In addition, it funds Women's Referral Central, 800/322-8092, a toll-free, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week referral hot-line for women.

Division on Women Staff
Sylvia Johnson, Director
Patricia Griffith, Program Development Specialist
Meril Dobrin, Program Development Specialist
Lorean Harcar, Secretary
Elizabeth Miller, Secretary

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
Brendan Byrne, *Governor*

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
Patricia Q. Sheehan, *Commissioner*